

# LABOR MAGAZINE

THE VOICE OF PROGRESSIVE LABOR

## Miners on the March

The Union Returns to Kanawha

CARA COOK

Slavery in West Virginia

A. J. MUSTE

St. Louis Rank and File Convention

ISRAEL MUFSON

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A. F. of L. Becomes "Militant"

LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

**MAY, 1931**

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## LABOR AGE

Vol. XX—No. 5

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## IN THIS ISSUE

**D**OWN in West Virginia the miners are again astir. Across the hills and valleys of the Kanawha region they move once more, to pledge their allegiance to the union. At one time, almost a decade ago, they marched in battle array across those hills—"on to Logan County." Since then, their union has been destroyed and its disintegration hastened by the "policies" of John L. Lewis. Over in St. Louis, 100 delegates met in a rank and file convention, to review the surrender of the Walker-Germer-Fishwick group to Lewis, after this group had denounced him as the tool of the Steel Trust and the betrayer of the union.

The C. P. L. A. has taken the lead in cooperating with the militant miners in these attempts to free themselves from operator tyranny and Lewis domination. In furtherance of this cooperation, we have made this number almost exclusively a miners' issue. We hope it will move our readers to aid in every way possible in the urgent matter of miners' relief.

**I**F there was ever reason for coming to the help of the starving and embattled West Virginians, Cara Cook gives us an account that shows there is double reason now. "The Union Returns to Kanawha" comes right from the recent trip which she made down there to help in relief and other work. These people in the hills have gone through damnation since the wrecking of their union seven years ago. They want to break the shackles which have meant company stores, company money and company rule to them.

**B**RANT SCOTT, vice president of the West Virginia Miners Union, told all about that to the Senate Committee on Unemployment Insurance, appropriately enough at its first sitting in Washington. Through the efforts of

the C. P. L. A. (represented by Chairman Muste on the spot) and of Ben Marsh of the People's Lobby, Scott got his hearing. What he said went around the country and became national publicity. Publications such as TIME took it up. In a concise and dramatic way Muste gives a report of what Scott said and what happened at the Committee hearing in Washington. "Slavery in West Virginia" is a proper title indeed!

**T**HE St. Louis convention, with its decision to form a Policy Committee, is covered by Israel Mufson, in his report. The rank and file did get together, and that in itself is important. They look forward to a clean, militant union. It will repay any one interested in the labor struggle to read this review of the rank and filers' discussions and decisions at St. Louis.

**W**HILE miners, starving and crushed, try to rise and re-establish their union and while millions of unemployed continue to suffer, the A. F. of L. officialdom busies itself with—BEER. The misery occurring out through the country, the migrations through the West and back again, and the failure of the A. F. of L. to act on the problems raised thereby are brought to our attention by Louis F. Budenz in his contribution, "The A. F. of L. Becomes 'Militant.'" Through Matthew Woll's committee, the A. F. of L. is spending time, money and energy on a "smoke screen" campaign for beer, when the hour calls for work and bread.

**A** DECADE of activity in the workers' education field justifies a review and analysis of what Brookwood has accomplished. Helen Norton reviews such accomplishments, in a report on what Brookwooders are doing, where they have gone, and how they have operated in the Labor Movement. The condemnation of the institution by the A. F. of L. has done it no harm, and if anything has given it a more significant place in the current labor scene. Well-wishers of workers' education will scan "Brookwood in Its First Decade" to find much encouragement there.

**T**WO workers, from mine and factory bench, express themselves—Sam Fisher on the A. F. of L. and Charles W. Gardner from out in California on the metal miners. Unionism, lost largely to these miners, is needed again. Gardner says that the bringing back of unionism is up to the Progressives, and furnishes interesting data on the metal miners and their present predicament. Fisher expresses his indignation at the appeal to Ham Fish on the Danville strike and at the general lethargy of the A. F. of L. officialdom.

**G**ANDHI'S peace pact with Lord Irwin and subsequent developments call forth a condemnation of the Mahatma's recent moves from Bert Miller, who is an active member of the Friends of India's Independence.

**J**ERGER gives us his monthly contribution—this time on the miners, in keeping with the issue in general. "In Other Lands" and the Book Review Section appear in order.

# · LABOR · AGE ·

May, 1931

## EDITORIALS

EVER since the ballyhoo conference at the White House, at which Big Business pledged itself to make no wage cuts, we have been treated to professional political drivel

### Bankers Demand More Wage Cuts

against wage cutting. All of it is of a piece with the hypocritical statements issued by the Hoover - Barnes gang. While Hoover "warns" and Mellon sighs over the "lowered standard of living," the big industrialists go forward in the slashing program. Hoover and Mellon and the rest know well that such is the case.

The bankers of the country have become impatient apparently at such statements. The workers might, somehow, take them seriously. The American Federation of Labor's treasonable pledge—treasonable to the workers—that it would do nothing to disturb things at this time, might be cast aside.

Therefore Albert Wiggin, president of the imperial Chase National Bank, speaks up. From his snug offices in the heart of ruling America, next door to J. P. Morgan & Co., he declares bluntly that wages must be cut. The workers must pay for the depression. That is the "curative" result of panics, about which we are now hearing from business men. An outcry followed the Wiggin manifesto, even the capitalist press thinking it "too abrupt." Rome Stephenson, president of the American Bankers Association, sought to make the brutal facts more soothing. He covered it over with a long, rambling statement to the press, in which the necessity for "readjustments" was included.

Whether "wage cuts" be mentioned boldly and openly or are covered up as "readjustments," the attack of over a year is going on steadily. It is the bankers' method of handling the crisis. Dividends must be safeguarded, no matter what the cost. We think it not improper to mention modestly that 62 New York banks voted \$87,000,000 in dividends in 1928, \$123,000,000 in 1929 and \$143,000,000 in 1930. There is the present ruling economy, stark naked. Depression saw dividends rise in these institutions. The answer that the banking overlords suggest is further lowering of the workers' incomes.

Such antics must be fought to the utmost. The American Federation of Labor leaders will issue blasts against them, but will do nothing about the business. They have become too gentlemanly to harass the wealthy in any vital way or to seek to arouse the mass of the workers to action. As in a refrain, we can only repeat that Progressive laborites must set the pace. Starting with picketing of banking institutions and of wage cutting concerns, which will draw the limelight to the issue in a vivid way, they must push on and go out to their fellow workers. In every way possible, they must secure mass action against the bankers and the System which they represent.

INTERNATIONAL holiday of the militant workers of the world, May Day dawns this year upon a Capitalism gashed and maimed and very ill.

### May Day Finds Capitalism Groggy

Thirty million industrial workingmen and women are totally out of employment, and countless millions more are on part time. Gold, capitalist standard of value, is frozen almost exclusively in the hands of two nations—the United States and France. The mummers for the Masters of the System babble optimistic phrases to cover their confusion. Wage slashes are the sole capitalist means of meeting the depression—thus still further deepening it.

Across the whole of the industrial world falls the shadow of Karl Marx, growing in historic stature as his prophecy of a collapsing Capitalism grows into fact. Suffering intensely from the evil burden of depression, the workers can see the promise of capitalist decay and the birth of a Workers' World.

In the United States, backbone of Reaction, the working population as a whole is still confused and uncertain. They have been more thoroughly drilled in the tenets of Capitalism than any other mass group in any other nation. They have not yet grasped the urgent lesson of organized offensives. They have not turned to unions, partly because the unions at hand were not fitted for workers' advance.

The winter that is ahead will give them their real test. By then the depression will have brought a large minority of them to a stage of desperation. The plight to which the System has brought them will give opportunities to the forces of radicalism. During this Summer and Fall the ground must be laid for intensive activity in the Winter. Organization, demonstrations and the spread of the anti-Capitalist message must be speeded up. Every channel must be used to reach the workers—employed and unemployed—to get to them the real understanding of the wage slashes and unemployment and how to meet them.

The crying need on this May Day is for organization of the unorganized. It stands out above every other requisite in America. With the battle cries of "No Wage Cuts" and "Jobs for the Jobless," the unorganized should be rallied at every mill and factory.

Those who can reach the American workers with a "language" they can understand, and who are fired with militancy, have a job here on which they should bestir themselves. The industrial field calls for agitators. Progressive laborites in America, on May Day, 1931, can feel encouraged to put full steam ahead. Theirs is the duty to get out among the workers and by ceaseless activity persuade them to radical action. And the first item in that program is the advancement of more extensive industrial organization.



**G**ERMAN industrialists, bent on trade, visit Moscow in a big delegation this past month and the world's tongue is set wagging again about Soviet Russia. This is but another act of tribute to the triumph of the "Five-Year Plan." A few years ago the industrial pilgrims were rushing to our own land of the Pilgrims' pride. They came to view eternal prosperity under mass production. Now they go to behold (and barter with) mass production under social control.

## Defend the Soviet Union!

Unemployment haunts every capitalistic country on the globe. France is the last to bow before this plague of the Profit System. In the Soviet Union alone is there a shortage of labor. It is there that mechanical miracles are taking place. Virgin soil, untouched for centuries, yields to the sweep of the invading tractor. Great factories arise, with workers' model villages attached. The earth gives up its riches of zinc, copper, coal, oil and many other good things—and Russia, slowly, steadily, steps forward in its march of progress.

Capitalists look upon this awakening Mammoth with varying emotions. Greed bids them trade with this source of materials—raw and finished. Fear bids them war upon it. It is fear which has led to the cry of "forced labor," from the mouths of those who have exploited their own working forces to the utmost. Fear is responsible for the embargo campaign and the red-hunting expeditions of Fish, Winston Churchill and Co.

The "forced labor" campaign has had a parallel in the "German atrocities" stories of the War period. Overwhelming testimony is to the effect that it is a myth, invented by the enemies of socialization. In the *Manchester Guardian* of January 16, 1931, two large British industrialists denied emphatically the existence of any forced labor, after a trip through industrial Russia. On the other hand, they reported:

"Nowhere did we find workers deprived of their liberty. What we did find was that the workers have control over the factories. They elect the foreman from their own factory committees. They have a labor code of eight hours per day, which is now being gradually reduced to seven hours. They get paid vacations, they have a complete system of social insurance which is free, and sanatoria." (Quoted also by Budish and Shipman, "Soviet Foreign Trade, Promise or Menace," p. 192.)

Thus, despite the hostility of the profit-making world, despite Karl Kautsky sham Socialism demanding intervention, despite the sniping of the Second International officialdom, Soviet Russia makes progress. It is surprising that some who call themselves Socialists should be filled with "buts" and "ifs" and "ands" in connection with the Soviet Union. They are affronted because the "social revolution" did not come in according to a prescribed plan. It should have been led by a lawyer in a cut-away coat, full of ballots and legalisms. Instead, it came from the workers and the soldiers, under the sickle and hammer.

That Capitalism will allow this great non-profit enterprise to go forward without a final fight is doubtful. There will be continued talk of embargoes and even of war. The coming of the boatload of Russian lumber to Providence, for an embargo test case, is but an incident in a prolonged campaign. The American workers must be prepared for the attempt at armed conflict, which almost invariably follows trade wars. They must be ready to do something such as the British workers did in 1920,

when the threat of a General Strike halted war against Russia. It is up to the radicals to keep the workers on their toes, against any disturbance of the Soviet Union by capitalist attacks. But the radicals cannot serve the Non-Profit System in this way, as long as any considerable number of them whine about the Soviet Republic in resolutions inspired by the politicians of "Amsterdam."



**W**E get the impression as reports come in from around the country that William Green is likely to have to make a fight to retain his job as president of the A. F. of L. at the convention in Vancouver next October. If William does make a fight, that will be the first time in many years that he has shown himself capable of doing so!

## William Green Under Fire

Dan Tobin, president of the Teamsters and for many years until 1928 Treasurer of the A. F. of L., is circulating among the executives of unions an attack which he made on Pres. Green in the January number of the Teamsters journal. The occasion for the attack was the dispute over the appointment of Doak as Secretary of Labor. The nastiest remarks made by Tobin are one to the effect that ingratitude "seems to be running rampant through his (Green's) blood" and another to the effect that our Baptist William is "subject to influences that influence!" Tobin adds: "We 'opes Bill will ask us publicly to explain." We 'opes so too, though as we have already suggested, there is some reason to think that it takes an awful lot to get Willie into a fight.

For reasons with which Brother Tobin might not agree, we too regard Green as utterly unfitted for the presidency of the A. F. of L., unless of course it is settled that the A. F. of L. is forever to be nothing but a cheap lackey to the Republican party, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and other union-hating agencies.

Under Green's leadership, the A. F. of L. Executive Council meets in Miami in the midst of the darkest winter American labor has passed through in years, and while the Danville strike is brought to a disgraceful end and the curtain rings down on the Southern organizing campaign begun in October of 1929 shortly after six Marion textile workers had been martyred in the struggle to establish an A. F. of L. union,—the best the Executive Council can do is to announce a great campaign in which all the forces of the A. F. of L. are to be enlisted, a world-shaking effort to bring back—light wines and beer.

Moreover, the Executive Council at the behest of big employers of labor, according to its own avowal, resolves against an extra session of Congress this spring—though the Progressives in Congress upon whom the A. F. of L. must depend for legislative support may want an extra session, though important anti-injunction bills and other labor measures are needed, and though it is common rumor that the same big employers above referred to think they can get away with a wage-slashing campaign this spring and summer if only Congress isn't in session enabling "the sons of wild asses" from western states and elsewhere to make a noise about it!

Betrayal of the workers could hardly reach deeper depths of infamy. William Green is utterly and absolutely unfitted for the leadership of the American labor movement.

## The Future in the Miners' Union

ELSEWHERE in this issue of *LABOR AGE* we tell the story of the St. Louis rank and file miners' convention. It remains here to evaluate that convention and to suggest the attitude of progressives in the future toward the miners' situation.

Before tackling these questions we must explain why and on what basis the Conference for Progressive Labor Action interests itself in the miners' problem. Today John H. Walker and others are telling the miners that "Broadway miners" and "Katonah pinks" (referring to the C. P. L. A. and to Brookwood people) are trying to run their union. Certain would-be progressives and Socialists occasionally echo such sentiments. Now, in the first place, the C. P. L. A. has never gone into the miners' or any other situation without being invited and urged to do so by the workers and their organizations. When our Chairman, A. J. Muste, and Tom Tippet last year assisted at the Springfield convention and in some of the subsequent activities of the reorganized U. M. W. of A., at the invitation of that organization, and in the hope that it would prove a means of improving the condition of the miners, John Walker, Adolph Germer and Company did not talk about Broadway miners and Katonah pinks. Now these names are hurled at us because we are not willing to be silent in the presence of the dastardly compromise put over by Walker, Germer and Company, a compromise under which over night black is supposed to become white, and John L. Lewis, denounced for over a year as the wrecker of the miners' union, is proclaimed its savior! We give notice that whenever we are invited to assist such men as Frank Keeney, Fred Mooney, Bill Truax, Powers Hapgood, Alex Howat, and the rank and filers who made up the St. Louis convention, we expect to respond to the call to the best of our ability.

In the second place, while the workers in each trade or industry must decide the special problems affecting that trade or industry, the notion that carpenters constitute a special class by themselves and are concerned only with the affairs of carpenters, and that the same thing goes for bricklayers, hod carriers, machinists, railroad workers, miners, etc., is the very notion which has done so much to weaken our whole trade union movement. At many points the problems of workers in one industry are exactly the same as those of workers in other industries. A worker is a worker first, and a carpenter, bricklayer, miner, etc., afterward. "An injury to one is an injury to all."

Specifically, mining is a basic industry. If there is no effective union in the mines, there probably will be none in automobiles, steel and other basic industries. If there is an effective union of miners, it will be that much easier to build effective unions in other basic industries. If the miners can maintain their wages and other conditions, it will be easier for other workers to do so. If, on the other hand, the conditions of miners are lowered, other workers are bound to suffer.

What shall we say of the St. Louis convention? First, it provided a splendid opportunity to educate a large number of delegates as to the precise way in which they have been betrayed and turned over again to John L. Lewis, and gave these delegates the facts with which to go back and educate their membership. Secondly, the convention mapped out a policy which may serve as a guide to all those who are still in the U. M. W., and to the unorganized miners as well. The Lewis-Walker compromise was unanimously rejected. The Illinois district officials are called

upon to cut off their lists dead locals, the delegates from which have been repeatedly used in conventions and elections to defeat the will of the membership. If this measure is actually carried out, then there is a possibility that if at a later time an Illinois district convention is called, the rank and file may be able to control it. If, on the other hand, this demand is not carried out by the district officials, the miners will have one more evidence that they cannot depend upon those officials. The St. Louis program, moreover, definitely states that the miners must have a new union; a clean, militant, inclusive, intelligent union, from which all vestiges of Lewisism have been removed. The convention, however, did not make the mistake of setting up then and there the machinery for a union on an inadequate basis, a new union which might have been a mere paper organization, or at best just another sectarian movement, of which there are already too many among the miners. The work of educating the rank and file on the need of the right kind of union is to go on. The movement is to keep in touch with the masses, those which are still in the U. M. W. and those which are definitely on the outside. Locals which refused to pay dues to corrupt officials and thus provide these officials with war chests with which to fight the membership, were commended. Support was pledged to independent movements for organization in West Virginia and Ohio, where the mass of the miners have definitely cut themselves off from Lewis. Undoubtedly improvements can be made in the details of this program. Yet, in its main outlines it appears to be one upon which all honest and intelligent elements among the miners can unite.

Everything depends now upon the courage, vigor and intelligence with which the Policy Committee elected at the St. Louis convention carries on its work. It must be confessed that the movement has not yet developed or succeeded in bringing into it leadership that seems clearly capable of handling the situation on a national scale. Still, there are strong elements on the policy committee and the effort to develop or to draw in leaders who can rise to the opportunity must be continued.

One delicate problem which the movement must meet as it goes on is that of its relation to the Communist organization, the National Miners' Union. On the whole, the delegates at the St. Louis convention showed a sound attitude in this matter as in every other instance where they had the facts clearly before them. In effect their attitude was this: We want to have a united front of all miners and we have nothing against rank and file miners who happen to belong to the National Miners' Union. We will not, however, be swallowed up by the National Miners' Union. ever, be swallowed up by the National Miners' Union—a defunct organization without standing among the miners.

The effort to carry the message of St. Louis to the rank and file which is still in the U. M. W., particularly in Illinois, must be vigorously pressed. It is true that the response from Illinois to the St. Louis convention was not as great as had been hoped. This is not, however, final proof that the Illinois rank and file have become indifferent to the conditions in their union. In the first place, many of them were not ready to come up against the combination of operators and union officials which threatened them with expulsion and loss of their jobs if they went to St. Louis. They may be ready to take the step, however, when they learn more about the true situation. In the second place,

(Continued on page 26)





Drawn for Labor Age by Jerger

## An Unfair Game

The miner—victim of "rugged individualism," Capitalist sloppiness, and lack of effective unionism—becomes the plaything of vicious forces. He is seeking a way out in West Virginia.

# The Union Returns To Kanawha

By CARA COOK

"DAMN! Damn! Damn!" Across the placid waters of the Tidal Basin, with the green-blurred willows drooping above it, the noble columns of the Lincoln Memorial gleamed in the early morning. Inside the great seated figure gazed out upon the Monument towering into the blue sky, masses of yellow forsythia at its base, the green lawns and darker hedges near by, the budding trees lining the Mall,—all the signs of an awakening spring day—Easter Sunday in Washington!

To be sure, the famous cherry trees were not out; neither, therefore, were the tourists, at that time in the morning, so one could gaze undisturbed at the temple of the Great Emancipator, and reflect—

"Damn. Damn it! Oh, damn it!"

For all I could see before me in that heavenly spot were rows and rows of shacks, all alike, dilapidated, one-story, three-room hovels, loosely boarded, unpainted, bare of every comfort, surrounded with litter and red mud and black dirt—the "homes" of coal miners in the Kanawha Valley, West Virginia, where I had been the previous day.

From the filth surrounding those who dig the coal that sets our industrial pulse in motion, to the beautiful seat of the government which guides that pulse, to the very steps of the Memorial erected by that government to the "man who freed the southern slaves!" The reasoning may have been sketchy, but the contrast was inevitable. Something was rotten somewhere, and for the moment one could only sit and swear at "the system."

Then I recalled, and felt better at once, that a week previous, something of that poverty and slavery had been brought right into the well-oiled machinery of Washington, when Brant Scott, miners' representative, had testified before the Congressional Committee on Unemployment Insurance. Moreover, he had told his story so convincingly that a full house of newspaper men had given him wide publicity, and the country, particularly the

aggrieved West Virginia operators, had learned that the "well satisfied and well housed labor supply—85 per cent white and native born," as described in some of Charleston's literature, was not as "cheap and contented" as had been supposed!

Then the faces and words of some of the miners themselves came flooding in upon me again, and I felt still better,—in fact I felt fine! What a grand bunch they were! They know the fight is no tea party, that the machinery is well oiled, and the odds against them, but still they climb miles over the mountains to meetings, take the union pledge as fast as it can be read to them, meekly receive eviction notices—and move into shacks next door—and, finally, when the screw comes down too tight, as at Prenter, with a 10 per cent wage cut, just walk out on their own hook, trusting to God and the Union to keep them alive, but preferring to starve fighting for their rights, than to starve working for the boss.

## Scene of the Fight

The miners' union battle-field is not a pretty scene just now. It is torn with intra-union dissensions, weakened by mishandled finances, betrayed by corrupt officials, drained of honest, militant leadership, and continually threatened from above by a mismanaged, over-productive, highly competitive industry. Perhaps in view of all this, some sections of the movement may be forgiven their apathy and confusion. West Virginia is the outstanding exception, and is now engaged in an effort to organize itself into an independent progressive state union. The story of the formation of the West Virginia Mine Workers was told in the April issue of LABOR AGE.

What is the scene of this particular fight? The Kanawha Valley lies in the southern-central part of West Virginia, extending along the course of the Ka-

nawha River for some 50 miles. At Charleston, the capital of the state, this river joins the Elk River, forming the Great Kanawha, an all year round navigable stream.

The Valley fosters a tremendous number and variety of industries, with coal by far the most important, and chemical products coming second. It is estimated that there are 17,280 square miles of coal beds in the entire state, two-thirds of the total land area, and that this constitutes a larger potential output than the combined coal areas of Europe, exclusive of Russia.

There are about 102,000 coal miners in the state. Around 23,000 of them work in mines along the Kanawha Valley, and the newly formed West Virginia Mine Workers is at present concerned with this group. It expects later to extend throughout the state, and then into unorganized fields in adjacent states. The Union claims 15,000 members to date.

The Valley has a long and colorful fighting history, ever since 1774 when the first family moved onto one of the creeks. It was Indian country; Kanawha itself is an Indian name meaning "River of the Woods," and woods indeed there are! The River winds southeast, bordered on either side by "mountains," the western foothills of the Appalachian range, varying from 300 to 800 feet high, covered with beautiful mountain foliage wherever there isn't the black blot of a coal camp or the scar of a pit track down the hillside.

The topography of the Valley as seen from an airplane must be amazingly beautiful and intricate. The mountain ranges have no regularity of trend or elevation; streams flow in every direction. Branching off the main River every few miles is a creek or "crick," as it is pronounced down there,—Campbell's Creek, Kelley's Creek, Coal River, Cabin, Paint, Davis—running back between the hills for miles, and other branches in turn wan-



dering off into other "hollers." The creeks were formerly the road beds; now there are county roads along most of the branches, generally in very bad condition. There is no way in and out except by these roads, unless it be over the hills, and often paths can be seen going up and over, the "short cuts" by which many travel afoot.

### Isolation of Camps

This isolation of the camps is one tremendous obstacle in organizing work; it takes so long to get from one camp to another by road. Time seems to mean nothing when the men are off on union work, gone for days at a time, and no word of their whereabouts. Telephones? Surely, in the company stores!

The mining in this region is slope mining, where the coal is simply dug out from a hole in the hill side. The level chambers run back in some cases for miles, but the only evidence they are there is the black mouth, and the slide down which the cars run by a balanced gravity system,—the loaded car goes down, pulling up the empty car, with an unceasing rattle and roar, and a shower of dust as each load is spilled into the breaker at the foot, from which it feeds into the waiting freight cars.

Clustered at the foot of each mine slide, around the breaker, and straggling off down the "cricks," are the coal camps, company towns every one of them, the only property not company-owned being the roads and the school houses, and sometimes the local movie. Most of these do not show pictures now, however; miners do not earn enough for movies.

I wonder if the Chamber of Commerce go-getter who wrote "It (the Valley) has developed into a section noted for its splendid, palatial and well furnished homes," ever took a trip up the River. If so, he must have been—what he was, a paid ad man, for you don't have to search out the camps in the "hollers"; they line the main highway all the way down to Charleston. The pictures accompanying this article speak for themselves. Perhaps they are no worse than the run of coal miners' houses, but miners from the organized fields say they never imagined anything could be so bad, so I judge they are not average.

What struck me most forcibly, however, was not so much the utter poverty of these houses, as the lack of life in their occupants. The men at the meetings, the women "at home," look tired and listless, without any reserves of animation or interest. The children

### The Prenter Strike

The West Virginia Mine Workers' campaign to organize the 23,000 miners in the Kanawha field by the middle of May has been considerably enlivened and somewhat endangered by a strike on April 16 of 500 men employed at The Collieries Company mine at Prenter. The walk-out was precipitated when the company attempted to impose a 10 per cent cut. The campaign strategy, however, was to avoid local strikes until after the coal operators had refused to meet the union in conference to work out a uniform wage scale for the entire Kanawha field.

In this walkout therefore the miners agreed to go back to work in order to permit the campaign to proceed, if the company would recognize a check-weighman, which would in reality offset the wage cut. The company refused point blank, in spite of a state law which requires that all coal companies permit the miners to put their own weighman on the tippie to check the company weigh boss. The strike, therefore, is for a check-weighman. Wages and working conditions will be considered by the union only when it is able to force the operators into a joint conference, perhaps about May 15.

Meanwhile the Prenter strike must be supported. The strikers and their families constitute a group of 1400 people all of whom must be fed. The union is now fighting evictions in court.

Prenter is the camp built by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers when that union went forth on its elaborate capitalistic ventures. The scandal and bankruptcy which followed resulted in the Prenter properties going into other mysterious hands. The Collieries Company is supposed to lease the mine at Prenter, but its main office is in the Union Trust Building at Cleveland. The town Prenter is named for an official in the Engineers' Union.

Relief is urgently needed for the Prenter strike, and for the campaign as a whole. The address of the union is: George Scherer, Secretary-Treasurer, Room 9, Old Kanawha Valley Bank Bldg., Charleston, West Virginia.

TOM TIPPETT.

look old in youth. If they are boys, the mine ahead of them; if girls, the same existence over again as miners' wives. A few "escape" to jobs in the city; a few more into the various industrial plants in the Valley.

These places they live in are not homes, of course; they are just shelters from the weather. They belong to the boss, so why should anyone take an interest in keeping them habitable and attractive. Like as not, tomorrow, you'll get a notice like this:

#### HATFIELD-CAMPBELL CREEK COAL COMPANY

R. P. Brown,  
House No. .... Shanty  
Putney, West Va.  
Dear Sir:

This is to notify you that we require a quiet and peaceable possession of the house which you now occupy, within five days from the date of this notice.

Yours truly,

.....  
Superintendent.

But they do have an interest now to which they respond intellectually and emotionally. The Union! It will bring them to meetings after a day's work, tired, but willing to stand for hours listening to speeches and taking in new members. They will walk miles over the hills to Sunday meetings. They tell you stories of the old days, and the good scraps, the "Armed March" that Mother Jones precipitated and in which many of them took part; hair-raising episodes of gun-men and guards, hill law and sheriffs, and inter-county feuds, their own organizing work, and the less dramatic stories such as, "I been in the movement since the Knights of Labor was formed; been a coal miner for 42 years, but I ain't too old to try hit again. Hit's our only hope, as I see hit." This a colored man, and an official in his local.

### A Meeting on The Creek

The spirit you find is indicated by one meeting we attended on a week night. It was just a local meeting, and nobody knew it was to be held until about 4.30 in the afternoon. It was misting and chilly, a good night to stay indoors. When we arrived at 6.30, and forded the creek via a precarious log to the colored children's school house, hardly anyone was in sight. Fifteen minutes later, appearing from nowhere, there were about 75, and in another quarter of an hour the school room was packed with about 200, most of them standing.

The only attraction was "Tommy"

Tippett, whom they'd heard before, two girl visitors from New York, and a miner from Illinois; no union officials, no union business, just some friends sympathetic with their movement, and in whom they too, therefore, were interested and curious. The four women present, (two colored) apologized for their small numbers, and "if we'd knowed about the meetin' sooner, we'd run around and got some more women folks." That's the way they organize down there, by "running around and getting others."

They were amused at our interest in the company "money," or scrip, specially made tin and brass coins, stamped with the particular company's

canned milk for the children. Many companies won't allow their workers to keep a cow on company property, for then they'll buy that much less milk at the store, so where there are cows, they are kept way up on the hills, where "there ain't no decent feedin' and it's a hell of a job to get at 'em."

No fresh vegetables, no fruit except in cans, rarely butter, never cream, and for meat the inevitable "sowbelly."

One of us collected samples of prices at a company store and an independent store a mile away, to check up on the common report that company store prices run 20 to 40 per cent higher than prices at independent

The companies make no bones about these higher rates. On the front of the decrepit Comet Talking Picture Theatre in Cedar Grove, anyone may read over the ticket window: Admission 15 and 25 cents; scrip, 20 and 30 cents.

And not content with maintaining these extortionate prices for those workers who, in debt to the company, must trade at its store, one company at Ward recently dismissed some men for not trading at its store when they didn't have to!

What do these miners earn a week to pay this company credit? It is difficult to generalize, the wages vary so, but the diggers run from 35 to 44 cents a ton, most of them getting about

### WEST VIRGINIA STIRS

Out in the open in the hill country the miners hear again of "Union." Below, Tom Tippett speaks at a meeting on mountain near Prenter.



Above is a miners' group at Putney Ridge, April 12, voting for a parade for the following Sunday.

name or emblem, and marked "Payable in merchandise only—non-transferable." And on the other side, "Payable in cash on pay days when due to employee to whom issued." Which is a joke, for these miners earn so little that many of them are actually in debt to the company most of the time, and their pay envelopes, read at the end "Balance due the Company, \$7.40," or \$13.75 or \$48.20.

One company recently made much of the fact that while its mine was not working, it would advance its men \$1 a week in company credit. The men, of course, had to have this much to keep from starving to death, but after it was spent, they were tied to the Company for another dollar's worth of labor.

What do they buy at the company stores, and how much do they pay for it? The food is almost uniformly salt pork, pinto beans, coffee, bacon, potatoes, rolled oats, oleomargarine, and

stores. The results included such figures as these:

	Company Store	Independent Store
Lard, per lb. ....	18c	12½c
Coffee, grades .....	55c	best 30c
Butter, creamery ....	45c	38c
Butter, oleo .....	25c	17c
Bacon, smoked .....	35c	22c
Steak .....	40c	25c
Pork chops .....	30c	22c & 25c
Sugar, per lb. ....	09c	2 lbs. 14c
Corn meal, 10 lbs. ....	35c	30c
Flour, 24 lbs. ....	95c	75c
Beans, pinto, 3 lbs. ....	25c	4 lbs. 25c
Lettuce, per lb. ....	25c	15c
Salt, 1½ lbs. ....	05c	05c
Peaches, dried, per lb. ....	20c	12½c
Prunes, dried, per lb. ....	15c	10c
Eggs, per doz. ....	30c	25c
Potatoes, per pk. ....	45c	40c
Bread, twin loaf. ....	15c	10c
Milk, large can .....	10c	3 for 25c
Salmon, pink .....	25c	15c
Tomatoes (can) 15c & 25c.	12½c & 15c	

38 cents. They dig from five to eight tons a day, making wages of from \$1.90 to \$3.00. From this has to be deducted money for powder, carbon for lamps and smithing for their implements, which altogether run about \$3.75 a week. Other expenses which are checked off their pay each month are: doctor's fee, \$2; hospital, \$1.30; funeral, \$1.25; lights, \$2; coal, \$2. The motormen run about \$3.40 a day on a regular day rate.

In an article on the Kanawha Valley in a biographical collection called "West Virginians" published by an association of West Virginia boosters, this statement occurs, after a long list of the industries and natural resources, in the Valley to attract aspiring industrialists:

"... and finally the equable climate, and excellent and abundant character of native white labor of the mountaineers, representing the purest

(Continued on Page 29)



# Slavery in West Virginia

## Report of Hearing Before United States Senate Committee on Unemployment Insurance

By A. J. MUSTE

(On Thursday afternoon, April 2, at 2:30 the Senate Committee to Study Unemployment Insurance held its first public hearing in Washington, D. C. The only witness heard was B. A. Scott, for years a leader of the West Virginia miners, a prominent figure in the United Mine Workers of America, and now Vice President of the recently organized independent West Virginia Mine Workers' Union. There had been well-founded rumors that the Senate Committee on Unemployment Insurance consisting of Senators Hebert of Rhode Island, Glenn of Illinois and Wagner of New York, would not hold public hearings at which the desperate need of American workers for unemployment insurance could be brought out, but would confine itself to a private study of the various forms of unemployment insurance. Largely through the valiant efforts of A. J. Muste and Ben Marsh on behalf of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, this hush-hush plan was broken down; the committee was convinced that the story of West Virginia was so tragic and appalling that refusal to listen to it would eventually expose the committee to the anger and contempt of the workers and of all decent citizens; Mr. Scott was heard, and the committee has announced now a policy of holding hearings in various important industrial centers, beginning in June. Incidentally, all progressive and labor groups should arrange to appear before this committee, the public hearings of which may well make a contribution similar to that of the famous Industrial Commission before the war, if proper advantage is taken of this opportunity. A summary of the testimony of Vice President Scott was widely reported throughout the nation and has aroused a tremendous amount of interest. In West Virginia the coal operators are impressed with the fact that the new union has powerful friends and has achieved a national hearing. Though the following report of the Committee sessions is not based on a word for word transcript of the evidence, and makes no pretense to give that, we guarantee that it sets forth accurately the spirit of the scene and the substance of the evidence presented.)

**D**RAMATIS PERSONAE:  
Senate Committee on Unemployment Insurance, consisting of Senators Hebert, Glenn and Wagner.

B. A. Scott, Vice President, West Virginia Mine Workers' Union.

SENATOR HEBERT: We are informed that certain citizens of West Virginia wish to appear before this committee. Are these people present?

SCOTT: I am the spokesman for the miners of West Virginia who desire to testify before this committee.

HEBERT: Will you tell the stenographer your name and business.

SCOTT: I am a coal miner, started to work in the mines when I was 12 years old. I am here representing the West Virginia Mine Workers' Union. *(Scott is 48 years of age, though he does not look it, and a good many years ago one of his legs was cut off at the hip as a result of a mine accident for which he received no compensation whatever.)*

HEBERT: This committee was appointed to study unemployment insurance. You understand that that is what we are interested in?

SCOTT: Yes. I only want to represent conditions in West Virginia, to show how badly the workers of West Virginia need some kind of unemployment insurance. I am not an educated man nor an orator, and I would just like to tell my story in my own way if the senators will permit.

HEBERT: Proceed.

SCOTT: There are 112,000 miners in West Virginia and they turn out over 139 million tons of soft coal a year. That's more than any other state except Pennsylvania, and Pennsylvania produces only a very little more. About one-third of these West Virginia miners are out of work altogether—the mine is shut down. Then there's another one-third that work only two,

or at the most, three days a week. Still, they are turning out as much or more coal than ever.

HEBERT: You say that this production of 139 million tons is produced by only 66 per cent of your force?

SENATOR GLENN: No, it is really less than that. He said that 33 per cent are out of work altogether, and then there is another 33 per cent that works only a day or two a week.

SENATOR WAGNER: You said that with all this unemployment and part time, the miners are turning out as much coal as ever. How do you account for that?

SCOTT: That's because a lot of new machinery has been brought in which does the work previously done by men.

WAGNER: What percentage of the men would you say are being laid off on account of the introduction of machinery—this technological unemployment, as it is called?

SCOTT: Well, take it on the whole, and I should think 30 per cent of the men have lost their jobs altogether as a result of machinery, but in some operations it is much worse. We have a case, for example, where it used to take six men running two machines to do a certain piece of work and now two men running one machine mine the same amount of coal.

WAGNER: That means four out of those six men are laid off?

SCOTT: Yes.

HEBERT: All this is very interesting but the purpose of this committee is just to study unemployment insurance and this does not bear very directly on the subject.

SCOTT: I think it is very important to show how badly unemployment insurance is needed in this country. Our union, when it was organized last month, went on record in favor of unemployment insurance, and I would like later to present a brief from our union as to the kind of unemployment insurance that we think would meet the need. These people in West Virginia are actually starving and even those who have work don't get enough to make a decent living. For example, here's a pay envelope that I brought with me to show you gentlemen. This man dug coal and at the end of two

weeks he was entitled to \$20.84, but there are various items checked off against that. He owed the company \$16.03 before he started in on these two weeks work. Then there is so much for scrip to buy food at the company store for rent, coal, hauling coal, sick benefit, burial fee and so on, so that at the end of two weeks he is now in debt to the company \$21.38, almost \$5.00 more than at the beginning of the two weeks.

GLENN: What's that you say about paying for hauling coal? Is that coal hauled for the company?

SCOTT: No, the company delivers a certain amount of coal at each miner's house each week and charges him for having that coal hauled there.

WAGNER: Did I hear something about a burial fee? Does this mean that the miners have a mutual benefit association?

SCOTT: No, it isn't a mutual benefit association. Whenever, for an example, a man or a woman or a child dies in a camp, it costs so much to provide a coffin and funeral; then the company divides that amount up among all the miners who are working in that camp, and they get their share checked off against their pay whether they want it or not.

GLENN: I am interested in this question of wages. How do wages in West Virginia compare with those in other states—for example, such as Illinois?

SCOTT: At the present time wages in West Virginia run from about \$1.75 to \$4.50 a day at the most. For the same work in Illinois the scale would range from \$4.00 to 7.00 a day.

GLENN: How do you account for this difference in wages between West Virginia and Illinois?

SCOTT: Because in Illinois they have kept up their union. (*Scarcely repressed smiles on the faces of reporters who remember how consistently Glenn has fought trade unionism in his own state of Illinois!*)

SCOTT: I don't want to give you gentlemen any wrong idea about these wages. 90 per cent of the miners in West Virginia don't ever see any wages in United States money. What they get is scrip or company money. (*He throws a dozen pieces or so of scrip issued by various coal companies on the table, and the senators inspect them with great interest.*) Each company issues its own scrip. The only place where you can use it is in the

company store and in the company store you have to pay 20 to 40 per cent more for everything you buy than you would have to outside. If you do find a movie, for example, that will take company scrip, you get only 75c on the dollar of scrip because that is all the company will give to anybody who tries to redeem this scrip.

WAGNER: If the miners are charged so much more at the company store, why don't they buy elsewhere?

SCOTT: Because if they do they get fired. The company tells them "you go to work for the man you buy from."

WAGNER: What supplies are bought at the company store? I mean, what is the standard of living among these people?"

SCOTT: Well, they live on potatoes, bread baked from flour they get at the

HEBERT: How do the miners get relief?

SCOTT: They don't get much of any. We applied to the Red Cross for help but they said their money was all to be used in the cities and not in the rural districts. We did for a while get some relief because the state appropriated something like \$150,000 to be spent in the 48 counties of the state. That's just about exhausted now, though.

GLENN: You said you appealed to the Red Cross. Was that to some individual member of the Red Cross or to the local Red Cross Society?

SCOTT: No, the state headquarters of the Red Cross is in Charleston and we went right there. Three different times I went with a committee and I have the names of those men who went with me right here in my pocket.

GLENN: You say that you were not able to get any relief for these people from the Red Cross funds at all?

SCOTT: No, sir. There was even a chemical plant near Charleston where the workers taxed themselves every week for the Red Cross fund. The superintendent of that plant gave me a letter to the Red Cross saying that they had contributed a lot of money and wanted it used to relieve starving miners. The Red Cross said it couldn't be done, and so now the workers of that factory have quit paying their tax into the Red Cross fund.

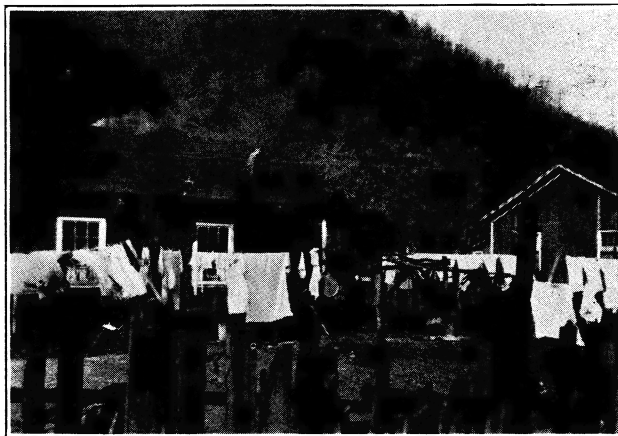
GLENN: It certainly seems to me that this matter ought to be called to the attention of the Red Cross.

WAGNER: I make a motion that the transcript of this evidence be sent to Chairman Payne of the Red Cross.

GLENN: I second the motion.

HEBERT: So ordered.

SCOTT: We believe that the only way we can get anywhere to improve our conditions is by organizing a union. Last month we had a convention in Charleston of miners from all the Kanawha section, and organized the West Virginia Mine Workers' Union. Before we lost our union seven years ago we didn't have these terrible conditions, but we met with a lot of opposition when we tried to organize the men. For example, last Sunday we had a meeting in Putney and on Monday morning two of the men who were active in getting up that meeting were fired by the company and got these eviction notices telling them to move out of their houses in five days. (*Turns over*



SMITHER'S CREEK, W. VA.  
Typical homes of starving miners

company store, black coffee, pinto beans and salt pork.

WAGNER: I hope you don't mind being interrupted. What kind of milk do you get at the company store?

SCOTT: Canned milk.

WAGNER: How do you get fresh milk for the babies? Do the miners keep cows themselves?

SCOTT: No, babies in West Virginia don't know what it is to get fresh milk. The companies won't allow the miners to keep cows or pigs. I suppose that would take away some of the profit they get from canned milk and salt pork sold at the company store.

WAGNER: When these miners are laid off, what do the companies do for them?

SCOTT: They don't do anything at all. There was just one company that recently, in order to prevent the men going in to the union, announced that it would give each miner that had been working for the company a dollar a day in scrip.



original of eviction notices to the senators.)

WAGNER: Do you also have injunctions in West Virginia?

SCOTT: Yes, sir. I had 121 of them served on myself.

WAGNER: 121 injunctions on one person?

SCOTT: Yes, sir, one time an association got injunctions for all the companies belonging to the association and every one of them served one on me.

WAGNER: Have any injunctions been issued against you people in the present organizing campaign?

SCOTT: No, sir.

WAGNER: How do you account for that?

SCOTT: Well, we think that this business of Judge Parker being defeated for nomination to the Supreme Court had a good deal to do with it.

WAGNER: Oh, so that did help a little, did it?

SCOTT: Yes, sir.

WAGNER: You say that you want to organize a union, and I suppose you want to try to get an agreement with the operators, but if you run against all this opposition, then how do you think you are going to be able to organize in order to change these things?

SCOTT: Well, if we get only a few men in a camp, they mostly get fired. Whenever we can, however, we carry the organization campaign on on the quiet, so that nobody knows about it until all the men in the camp are organized, and then the operator can't fire them all.

GLENN: You have pointed out that in Illinois there are better conditions because they have a union there. I believe that union is called the United Mine Workers of America. Is your union in West Virginia connected with that organization?

# Fate of the Miners and Other Workers

*"Overproduction" While Workers Starve*

When Millionaire Lamont, Secretary of Commerce, announces that there are over 6,000,000 unemployed, we can rest assured that the number is at least 10,000,000. With this great army out of work, a break-down of working conditions and wage levels has become the program of the day on the part of the employing interests. Brant Scott tells what this has done in West Virginia. "Over-production" in coal and food and everything else!—and workers starve. Even a reactionary daily paper believes the situation calls for the cartoon reproduced herewith. We think it an eloquent denunciation of the prevalent Profit System economics.



*Drawn by C. R. Macaulay*

SCOTT: No, sir. We don't favor John Lewis, the president of the United Mine Workers, so much in West Virginia. He broke up our union seven years ago by insisting on the Jacksonville scale and not allowing us to make a fair agreement with our own operators. He has done other things to ruin the union and the miners in West Virginia don't want anything to do with him or with the United Mine Workers so long as he is in control of it. We have formed an independent union of West Virginia miners.

HEBERT: Is there anything further?

SCOTT: Not just now, I think, except I want to make sure that we can file a brief giving you some more information about the conditions down there and setting forth our union's position on unemployment insurance.

HEBERT: Yes, you may do that. The committee will stand adjourned. *(There is a buzz of conversation in one corner of the room, and then Senator Wagner asks if the committee may reconvene for another minute or so.)*

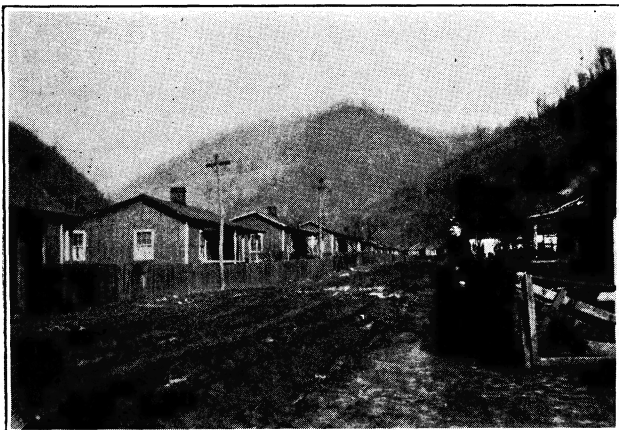
HEBERT: The committee will come to order.

WAGNER: Am I correctly informed that if a miner dies, his son will inherit his debts to the company?

SCOTT: Yes, sir. Suppose a man dies and one of his sons takes his place. He would have to do that or otherwise the family could not keep on living in the company house. Then the son will have charged against him whatever his father owed the company.

REPORTER: *(in stage whisper)* Did anybody say forced labor?

THE END



Main Street of West Virginia mine town

# The Rank and File

## Convention at St. Louis

By  
ISRAEL MUFSON

A GENUINE rank and file convention of soft coal miners, with no individual or group pulling strings, was held in St. Louis, Mo., April 15 to 18. That in itself is something! About 100 delegates, representing on a conservative estimate not less than 30,000 miners, were present. Unquestionably these delegates represented the sentiments of additional tens of thousands of miners in all parts of the country. Kansas, Indiana, Ohio, West Virginia, Missouri, Arkansas and Illinois were represented. From Illinois, the one big bituminous producing area in which the Union can still be said to function, 35 locals, with a membership of at least 10,000, were present, in other words, about 25 per cent of the miners of the state who are working and paying dues with some degree of regularity into the union.

Though a convention of delegates representing fully 30,000 miners is not to be sneezed at in these days of demoralization in the whole trade union movement, and particularly the miners' union, the delegates at St. Louis decided that this number was not large enough to warrant setting up a separate union then and there. Their aim was very definitely not another sectarian movement but the uniting of all the miners in the country into a powerful, clean and militant organization.

What the convention did decide to do was:

1. To go on record "as rejecting the compromise agreed to by Walker and others, and condemn in the strongest possible terms John H. Walker and the other officials who have agreed to the compromise as embodied in Judge Edward's decision."

2. That a permanent policy committee be created, "of two from each respective district, which shall function as a National Policy Committee, and that each local union select local committees whose duties will be to keep the district committee informed concerning developments from time to time.

"The purpose of the policy committee shall be to continue the agitation

in order to keep the workers alive to their own interests, so that we will be in a position to build a new union at the proper time, and to help in the organization of the new union in the outlying districts such as West Virginia and Ohio."

3. That the demand be made upon the Illinois officials that the "charters of all dead local unions be cancelled as they have been used in the past by both district and national organizations for convention and election purposes to defeat the wishes of the miners."

4. That local unions be commended for refusing to pay dues into the treasury of John L. Lewis and John Walker and "we urge all other local unions to take similar action until this controversy is settled entirely satisfactorily to the miners of Illinois."

### Many Locals Act

Many Illinois locals for that matter had taken things in their own hands before the convention and stopped paying dues to the old union officials. Immediately after the compromise between John L. Lewis and Walker became known, they stopped paying dues in protest against this compromise. Many of these locals are banking their dues in independent accounts. A roll call on this question showed that of the Illinois locals represented at the convention, 16 were paying dues to no one. Twelve were paying dues to the Illinois district and sub-district organization but not to Lewis, and only two locals were paying dues to Lewis. If refusal to meet the tax collector is the first act of rebellion, then this tabulation shows that the war is on in Illinois.

By approving of the step taken by the local unions in not paying dues which would only serve to pile up a war chest for reactionary and dishonest officials; by coming out flatly against the compromise by which Walker, Germer and Company turned back the Illinois district to John L. Lewis and dissolved the reorganized U. M. W. of A., without so much as a by-your-leave, to the membership;

by declaring furthermore that only "a new union" (that is, a union completely cleansed of Lewis and Lewisism and if necessary bearing a new name) can meet the situation; by pledging support to independent organization movements in West Virginia and Ohio, where the miners have been without a union for years and the masses of coal diggers are utterly opposed to going back to John L. Lewis even for a single moment; and by appointing a Policy Committee to continue the work of the convention and to carry on an education of the rank and file throughout the coal fields as to what has been happening, so that the rank and file may eventually be rallied to build a genuine organization, the St. Louis convention took a decided forward step in mapping out a policy for the miners.

### Convention Helped Greatly

Quite apart from the specific action taken by the convention, the meeting was amply justified from the educational standpoint. Three-fourths of the 100 delegates had never heard a clear report as to how Walker and other officials of the reorganized U. M. W. of A. had sabotaged efforts to extend organization into the non-union fields; how Powers Hapgood and Bill Daech had gone into Pennsylvania, organized several hundred miners and then were hastily recalled to Illinois by John Walker when they wanted authority to support these miners in case they went out on strike in order to get a contract with the operator; how an organization campaign was launched in West Virginia and then suddenly left in midair, all the organizers withdrawn and grocery bills for feeding striking and starving miners left unpaid; how in similar fashion the promising organization movement in Ohio had been blocked; how the elected auditors of the reorganized U. M. W. of A. did not see the books of that organization during the last six months of its existence, and how after an examination by public accountants the financial affairs of the union were

wound up by John H. Walker without the calling in of the elected auditors. This whole story will now go back to many of the local unions and to the rank and file of the miners in Illinois and elsewhere. If Howat, Daech and others had not courageously refused to take part in the Lewis-Walker compromise, and had not called this convention, there would have been no opportunity to place this tremendously important story on the record and so to get it to the men of the picks, who built the reorganized U. M. W. of A., paid its bills and then found their organization dissolved suddenly under their very noses after thousands upon thousands of dollars of their hard earned money had been dissipated in lawyers' fees.

The convention got off to a poor start on Wednesday morning, April 15, because Alexander Howat, former president of the reorganized United Mine Workers, leaned backward in his desire to show the delegates that he had no wish to permit his personality to influence them in any way. As the one official in the reorganized union who had immediately raised his voice in protest against the Walker-Lewis compromise, he was the logical leader to whom the insurgents looked for direction. He was naturally nominated for the chairmanship of the convention. To everyone's surprise he declined the nomination. Later he explained that he wanted to assure the delegates that he had no personal ambitions to advance at the convention.

This action on the part of Howat, coupled with the disappointment at the small delegation, put a wet blanket over the whole assembly. Delegate after delegate declined nominations for practically every office to be voted on. As the sessions continued, the atmosphere became much livelier, and at the close of the day, after the delegates had been enthused by speeches from Howat, Keeney, Fred Mooney, Wm. Truax and A. J. Muste, they had regained their courage and were ready to do battle.

### Haynes Splendid Chairman

James Haynes, member of Local 721 of Pana, Ill., was elected chairman, and William Daech, who had acted as secretary of the arrangements committee of the convention, secretary. It is doubtful whether a better man could have been found for the job of chairman than Haynes. Although a Socialist all his life, and annually elected Socialist Alderman of Pana, he had the confidence of the ex-

treme lefts as well as of the rights. It is probable that because of this confidence in the chairman's fairness which all points of view held, there was less acrimony and wrangling than would otherwise have been the case. As it was, at the conclusion of the convention, everyone joined in a rising vote of thanks to the chairman, and the delegates from the National Miners' Union joined in this tribute.

From the very outset of the convention, as soon as the credential committee reported, the question in everyone's mind was not what form a new union should take but what action could be taken in lieu of forming a new union then and there. There was no attempt to hide the disappointment the delegates felt at the small attendance. Because the representation was limited the idea of immediately forming a new organization was shelved early in the convention, as we have already pointed out.

It would be erroneous to conclude because fewer union locals sent delegates to the convention than expected, that this meant lack of interest on the part of the coal miners in the "rank and file" protest movement. The reader must understand that while the U. M. W. is weakening in Illinois the coal operators still play with Lewis and his crew whenever it pays them to do so. Naturally, when the Illinois officials and Lewis' representatives want action against a real organization move, they can always find the operators as their allies. In this sense Lewis and Walker have still job control in the industry with all the power and influence this implies. Men are, therefore, afraid to act in accordance with their wishes but must always keep their jobs in mind. Especially is this true at the present time when the coal industry is flat and thousands of miners can only get one or two days' work in two weeks. Miners must live, and a job, therefore, is most important. If the pick and shovel men had not been afraid of discrimination and victimization on the part of the Lewis and Walker-Germer gang, in cooperation with the coal operators, there would have been three or four times the number of delegates that appeared in St. Louis.

Just a concrete example to back up this assertion. The Sunday before the convening of the convention, a large mass meeting was held in Gillespie, Ill., to discuss the issues involved in the Germer-Walker-Lewis compromise and the move for a rank and file convention to let the miners decide for

themselves what they would like to have done. Over a thousand miners gathered in the hall at Gillespie that day to listen to Alexander Howat, Fred Mooney, William Daech and others and howled their approval of the speakers' denunciation of Lewis and the compromise. Germer was in the audience and was given the floor on request. But it wasn't very long before he was hooted off the platform. With thundering unanimity they voted in favor of the rank and file convention. The next day some of these very same men in one of the Gillespie locals were having a referendum on the question of whom to pay dues to, whether to the district, sub-district, to Lewis, to all of them or to none of them. *And they voted by a large majority to pay dues to Lewis!*

What had happened to change their opinion overnight? Intimidation is the answer. The men were simply afraid of their jobs if they expressed their honest sentiments in this controversy. This was true of many other locals. Some locals had sent in credentials but the delegates failed to appear because the local union changed its attitude, due to pressure, between the time of electing delegates and the opening of the convention. The delegates therefore knew that the sentiment for revolt was much stronger than appeared at the convention and that what was needed was time and more effort to solidify that sentiment more firmly.

### The Convention Looks Things Through

Once the convention got into the swing of its program, it readily admitted disappointment but clear-sightedly determined to understand the situation and continue from there. That is why it did not permit itself to be stampeded into a futile adjournment but drew up a program which eventually may mean a new union in the coal industry, depending upon the intelligence and courage of the leaders of this movement. The "left wing" section of the convention, whose combined strength never was able to muster more than 7 votes out of a total of about 100, worked indefatigably for the formation of a new union, immediately. In this process, there evidently were two motives, one a genuine desire to get rid of Lewis, and the other to build up the fortunes of the National Miners' Union (the Communist union) and bring the miners under the influence of Communist leadership. To achieve the latter, all their tactics during the convention were based on an attack



on Howat, the man who today still holds the confidence of the miners as no other individual.

From the very start of the convention, the N. M. U. representatives began to snipe at Howat's reputation, attempting to link him up with the sins committed by Walker and Germer while all of them were officers of the reorganized United Mine Workers. They kept up their fire at every opportunity until the delegates were tired to death with their harangues. No one of their friends who may have been present was wise enough to advise them that sometimes there is victory in silence. The whole ill-advised campaign wound up tragically with the attempt of the national organizer for the National Miners' Union, Tasch, who was given the privilege to address the convention, to superimpose his villification of Howat on the pyramid of abuse already built up by his comrades. That was one too much for the delegates. They demanded that he stick to his subject of presenting a program for the convention to act upon. Not being able to call names, the N. M. U. emissary spluttered ineffectually for a few minutes and sat down.

A more serious result of the noise-making proclivities of the "left-wingers," was the voting down of a resolution condemning the American Federation of Labor policy toward Soviet Russia and demanding recognition of that country. Had this resolution been introduced by any other delegate but by a self-proclaimed disciple of Moscow, it would have passed without dissent. But the delegates were so worked up by the crude tactics of this particular representative that they gave his resolution no consideration. Even the intervention of Powers Hapgood on behalf of this resolution, failed to save it. Another resolution calling upon the governors of the various states to release Mooney and Billings, the Centralia victims and other class war prisoners, was passed unanimously.

### The C. P. L. A.'s Part

Because of the large part which the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, A. J. Muste and Tom Tippet have played in the late affairs of the miners, they were given ample recognition and accepted with enthusiasm as aids and advisers in the rank and file movement. Chairman Muste could have spent the next year, probably, speaking to miners all over the coal mining territory, were he in a position

to accept the invitations showered on him, after his speech before the convention on Wednesday afternoon. Their response to his analysis of the miners' difficulties and the kind of union to be built to meet them, was one of the most enthusiastic moments of the whole convention. Tom Tippet's work with the coal miners in West Virginia, where he is at present assisting in building a new miners' union, brought him close to the delegates and they listened with undivided attention as he related to them the hunger and cold the miners of West Virginia are suffering and the need to assist them in building up a union in order to build up their standards. A literature table, upon which were displayed all the pamphlets and leaflets published by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, was a very popular gathering place for the delegates. At the conclusion of the convention, rising votes of thanks were tendered A. J. Muste, Tom Tippet and others of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and Brookwood, who helped to make the convention possible. Powers Hapgood was also given a rising vote of thanks for his part in the convention.

One result of the rank and file convention which will help in building up a movement that will be able to fight Lewis more successfully, is the realization that the Illinois District need not necessarily be the heart and center of any new reorganization of the miners. Through the addresses made by William R. Truax of Ohio and Fred Mooney and Frank Keeney of West Virginia, the delegates discovered that a different attack against the corrupt Lewis forces may be possible by strengthening the independent unions now in the process of formation in West Virginia and Ohio. Once permanent miners' unions are developed there, the Illinois miners, confronted as they are at present with all the opposition the Lewis machine in cooperation with the coal operators can put forth, can join the new movement with greater ease than if they were the originators of the new movement.

Another factor which the delegates were shown was the weakness of the union in Illinois to withstand demands on the part of the operators for lowered standards when the present agreement expires in December. This situation may create sufficient discontent among the rank and file, to cause them to flock to the banners of the move

for a new union without the hesitancy shown at present. All of these factors will make for greater success in the near future.

### The Policy Committee

The Policy Committee elected by the delegates from the respective districts to carry forward the work of the convention is composed of B. H. Humphreys and Harry Niedermiller of Illinois; Alex Howat and August Dorchy of Kansas; Frank Keeney and Fred Mooney of West Virginia; A. B. McCallum and Dan Winnigan of Indiana; William Truax and Joseph Griffin of Ohio and Powers Hapgood. The committee organized itself at the close of the convention with Alex Howat as chairman and B. H. Humphreys as secretary. Detailed plans for carrying forward its work will be mapped out in the near future.

Considering the convention as a whole, it established in concrete fashion the discontent with the present leadership and unflinching determination to get rid of such leadership. It gave demonstration that a large nucleus of miners, unafraid and in deadly earnest, will continue the fight regardless of disappointments and obstacles, until a miners' union will be built capable of coping with the present coal problem in the interest of the coal diggers. And it created a permanent organization through which this purpose and determination can eventually find expression in a new union.

In spite of the disappointment at the small attendance, and in spite of the poor start caused by a mistaken interpretation of the term "undominated convention" and "office seeker," the delegates who were present at St. Louis left in a spirit of much hope and united in purpose. As one envisages the past with the knowledge that experience has brought to light, there is far more hope for a clean, militant, vigorous miners' union as a result of the action of this convention, than there was at the conclusion of the Springfield convention in 1930. In that convention peace was made with such elements as Farrington and Walker, which boded no good for the development of an honest labor union. The St. Louis convention made no compromise with any individual who could not stand in the scrutiny of the rank and file. It was a convention of miners, for miners and by miners.

# The A. F. of L.

In the Southwestern  
Desert . . . Matthew

## Becomes "Militant"

"Bleeds" for Beer . . . How the A. F. of L. "Got That Way" . . . What's the Answer? . . . . By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

ONE car came out of the desert and stopped. It contained a family of five: an ex-soldier, his crippled wife and three small children. The time was late afternoon. The wife made camp for the night, and the man went into town to "rustle some eats."

They had planted themselves among a few scrub trees on the side of the road, near the outskirts of Yuma. Behind them was Los Angeles, from which they had fled, the luxuriant Imperial Valley and the long, bleak stretch of the "California Desert." Before them was the Gila Desert, along 52 miles of which no gasoline station can be found. They had run out of funds on the long trip, even having passed up a 10 cent auto camp a mile back on the road.

In the night more cars came. By morning there were four, in addition to the first. The next day there were a dozen there. At the end of a week, 25 had huddled together in a "colony," their occupants hungry and thirsty, weary and broke. Every day two dozen men hiked into town, seeking work and food. Some days they went back and forth two and three times, offering their labor at any price.

Local workmen became aroused. They appealed to politicians and business men, demanding that something be done. The best people became fearful and suspicious. There had been several cases of petty thievery of food since the "colony" was formed.

Armed with an ouster order, the sheriff acted. To each car five gallons of gasoline was given, and the "colony" was commanded to "move on" into the desert. Reluctantly, the "colonists" broke camp, to face the miles of highway to Gila Bend.

Over and over again these colonies form throughout the Southwest—near Tucson, Phoenix, Gila Bend, Tombstone, El Centro, Lordsburg where the Continental Divide begins.

Over and over again they are broken up and ordered on. Jobless and hungry workers, joining the great exodus from Los Angeles without automobiles, take to the highways and the railroads, and upon their arrival at any town are seized by deputy sheriffs or constables. They are marched to the edge of the town, or taken in patrol wagons, and ordered to "get on" at the point of a gun. Girls follow the example of the men. Donning overalls, they "hop rides" on freight trains or "drags." At El Paso the Texas Rangers take a hand, and join with city police in arresting every itinerant that they can lay hands on. "Vagrancy" brings a sentence of 60 to 90 days, building roads for the Lone Star State. The enterprising town of Cisco, Texas, points with pride to its modern municipal airport, lake and dam, now being erected with "vagrant" chain gang labor. All freight trains come to an unscheduled stop at Cisco, to be searched for unemployed young men. At Texarkana, new oil boom town, a drama of human misery is being enacted. Hordes of oil workers flood the town. Hard boiled gangsters form the jobless into groups, to offer their services at lower wages than those working, until another racketeer gathers together another crowd to offer themselves at still lower rates.

Eastward the jobless army flees. Western and mid-Western cities, formerly calling for surplus labor, to pit worker against worker, now are alarmed at the hungry thousands on their hands. Driven ahead in city after city, the jobless from the great Open Shop citadels of Los Angeles, Detroit and other places, make for New York. In the Greater City they find further disillusionment: restrictions concerning residence and a \$10,000,000 fund to "relieve" 800,000 out-of-works. They find their Eastern fellow-workers in the same plight as themselves.

Great corporations, which slobbered over their aid to the Prosser Committee, lay off men by the thousands. The Brooklyn Edison Company, to cite one, favored with a perpetual franchise, coolly fires many hundred men in April. The Eastern railroads, preliminary to full merger, rid themselves of 200,000 men.

America's waste regions are no longer confined to its Western deserts or its Dakota Bad Lands. For the trapped and workless worker, Imperial America has become one great Economic Desert.\*

### Individual Escape

Individual escape from the great earthquake of the Depression is, then, the first attempt of the workers. This migration is one of many similar efforts at such escape with which we are becoming familiar. Suicides mount among the jobless. We read of them every day in the newspapers. In the DAILY MIRROR of April 25th, this significant story is added: "Wanted: A Job . . . Even at Gunpoint! An Amazing Story. Andy Susko, a crippled steel worker, lived in Pittsburgh. For months he was jobless, pleading for work, any kind of work. Everybody turned him down, it seemed. Finally, Andy lost his head. He grabbed a gun and fired at the general manager of a steel mill. Then he ran into a field nearby, where he held off cops for 24 hours with the same gun."

The American worker is still trying to work out his salvation blindly according to the gods he was taught to worship. He is suffering from the sins,

\*The incidents cited on the Southwest are taken from the report of a young worker, who went to the Pacific Coast and back, at my request. He generously made this trip "on his own" and by the box car route. He asks that his name be withheld for fear of discrimination in any future industrial job, remaining one of the unnamed "heroes" of the labor movement.

not of the first Adam, but of a second Adam—whose last name was Smith. "Rugged individualism" developed this great Capitalistic Empire, and he little knows as yet that it has already been destroyed. He continues to believe in the fiction that any man, by sufficient thrift, intelligence and "loyalty," can rise to the top of the heap. The man who fails, does so not because of the System which crushes him, but because there is something wrong with himself. Organization, either political or economic, has not been considered seriously as an effective way out—either by those out of work or those remaining in some fashion among the employed.

At the same time, the worker

dollars of it—on machinery no longer used, on organs put out of commission by talking pictures, on automobiles scrapped long ago, on railroad rolling stock long displaced, on street cars wiped out by buses, etc., etc., etc. Interest, as with Profits, takes from the workers that which they should have to buy back the product which they turn out. Capitalist voices tell us that—and yet, the only Capitalist "remedy" for the Depression is in making it worse by universal wage-cutting. Albert Wiggin, president of the ruling Chase National Bank, announces bluntly that there must be wage cuts. Rome Stephenson, president of the American Bankers Association, echoes the same sentiment in more chaste and

## Militant Matthew

The American Federation of Labor has reached the highest point of its current battle for "freedom" in dignifying this herring as something real. Using up time and money that should be devoted to unemployment insurance campaigns and fights against wage cuts, the A. F. of L. waxes "militant" at a 2 day pro-beer convention in Philadelphia. Matthew Woll, life insurance magnate, struck the keynote of the new "smoke screen" campaign in fervid words, to wit, as follows:

"There is too much law and order today. I want to see the shackles of the injunction broken, if not by lawful methods, then through physical resentment.

C. P. L. A. Picket Line bringing West Virginia miners' story and horror of depression face to face to wealthy "Easter Parade," Fifth Ave., New York.



International News Photo

There was a day when A. F. of L. workers officially harassed their enemies in this fashion—but that day has passed.

(though he very faintly knows it) is entangled more and more in a deepening depression. The capitalists, in whom he puts his trust and who in turn rely upon his "individualism" to keep them on top, are enmeshed in their own web. They are told by economists to engage in "National Economic Planning" and Dr. Royal Meeker advises an "American 5-Year Plan." Such suggestions are wholly futile, for capitalistic national planning has one unerasable defect: it must continue the Profit and Interest Systems. As a well-known business man of New York dryly told me recently: "Six per cent compound interest will always outstrip social welfare." Interest is being paid today—billions of

guarded tones. Wage-cutting is the capitalist recipe for better times.

To distract the minds of the hungry and underfed, the politician henchmen of the Powers That Be put on a sham battle over Prohibition. The need for bread will be drowned in the cry for beer. The dry husks of charitable doles will be sweetened by the moral righteousness of the "noble experiment." The wet-dry fight is the reddest herring drawn across the Depression trail, save only the plaintive yelps of Ham Fish and the Daughters of the American Revolution.

I am strongly opposed to milk and water methods of voicing disapproval. It is only by aggressiveness that States will regain their privileges.

"Our nation came into being through a disregard of law and order. The Negro was freed by bloody strife, in complete disregard of law and order. Labor unions came into being through disregard of law and order and won for American labor its high standards of living through strikes, lockouts and other methods.

"I am opposed to Communism, but if Congress is justified in socializing the conduct and habits of the nation, then



it is also justified in socializing property."

Whence these strange words from Matthew, who has turned the A. F. of L. into a life insurance company? Is he, then, another Saul of Tarsus, struck by the lightning of militancy on the road to Damascus-Philadelphia? In the very city in which he speaks the Mayor has threatened to call out the militia against the unemployed, their numbers are so great and their desperation so intense. In that same city, one of the few militant unions in the A. F. of L. (the Hosiery Workers) has been in death grips with wage-cutting manufacturers for months. Injunctions have been issued there, rubber-stamped and to order. Will Matthew tomorrow go on the picket lines and defy the courts in person? Will he welcome arrest and a prison similar to the one in which he aided in keeping Tom Mooney? Will he go up to Stroudsburg, a few miles away, and denounce the injunction judge there and picket the mill where Alberta Bachman was slain? Or to get down to his "wet" platform? Will he so much as shed one drop of his "red blood" for a cask of beer? Echo answers: "He will NOT."

In the 1924 convention of the American Federation of Labor, Matthew arose and declared in ringing tones that injunctions should be violated and defied. Since that date, injunction after injunction—increasing in suppression—has been issued against the workers. During all that time, Matthew has not risked one inch of the Napoleonic figure on any picket line. Andrew Furuseth of the Seamen's Union was right when he stated, in another A. F. of L. convention, that the A. F. of L. leadership (specifically meaning Matthew) did not have the courage to go to jail.

In the National Civic Federation, Matthew consorts with the most vicious of anti-union employers. That organization, of which he is Acting President, has never revealed the source of its income, although beyond a doubt such income comes from these same anti-union employers. It was Ralph Easley, secretary of this Federation, who gave aid and comfort to the labor spy A. R. MacDonald, and sought to get me snuffed out as a labor organizer in the midst of a militant organizing campaign.

In the city in which Woll uttered his "militant" words, a strike of upholstery weavers has just been going on. It is a strike bound up closely with the high tariff policy, to which Matthew persuaded the A. F. of L. Under the blandishments of Woll's Association,

the union upholstery workers fought tooth and nail for the "robber tariff" in the last Congress. Were they not to get higher wages and employment as a result? They got the high tariff rates—but scarcely was the Hooverian pen that signed the bill dry when the Philadelphia manufacturers put in a big wage cut and the speed-up. You may build tariff walls against European goods, but you cannot install tariffs on Southern, Western or small town produced goods. The net outcome of the "robber tariff" was to make the Depression worse.

On the second and final day of the beer convention, the 200 delegates marched to the Philadelphia City Hall, where Woll delivered another speech against 18th Amendment. There have been marches of the unemployed to that City Hall in times but shortly past, but Matthew was not at the head of them. Nor have we seen 200 representatives of official Labor in recent years marching defiantly on any picket line.

### Militancy Built Unions

On one point Matthew was correct: Labor unions were built up by militancy and that alone. Conversely, labor unions are being destroyed by non-militancy, openly acknowledged in the "no strike" policy of the A. F. of L. There was militancy in the labor unions of before-the-war. In 1913-14 St. Louis saw a waiters' strike that unionized the hotel and restaurant employes 100 per cent. It was a hard fought, no-quarter battle. The employers tried out the inevitable injunction, prohibiting all picketing. Did the St. Louis movement accept such a decree? They did not; instead, the central body voted that 10 delegates from each of the 188 locals should defy the injunction. As it was, 10,000 workers turned out to picket the Hotel Jefferson. One worker essayed to start the picket line alone. He was clubbed by police. Then, the 10,000 unionists went to his rescue and routed the cops. The union appealed to the Governor to send in the militia to protect the workers from the police. It was good stage stuff, for that time. In a few days the injunction was dissolved, the judge pleading with the union's counsel for such action. Similar defiance of an injunction took place in New York, under the auspices of the progressive central body of that time. All through the country, that was the spirit of Labor.

Then, the war came and the A. F. of L. went "patriotic." Workers'

movements were more and more suppressed, and the A. F. of L. acquiesced in this suppression. Before that, however, the ground work had been laid for some such shift as this. Local "labor skates" had been increasingly put on the public payroll by politicians of one or the other of the old parties. In St. Louis, where I then was, we watched the process. Charles Herstein of the printers' union, became head of the Efficiency Bureau at the City Hall. Charles Lammert, president of the Building Trades Council, was named to the powerful Board of Election Commissioners and to the Board of Education. As such, he joined in thwarting the campaign for the recall of the street railway dominated Mayor. Likewise he aided the Retail Clerks Union officials in defeating the department store strike. The non-partisan policy of the A. F. of L. was quietly sapping its strength.

Labor began to rely on "pull" rather than militancy for results. Such a program matched well with craft unionism, which was based on success for the skilled workers at the expense of the mass. In Akron, Ohio, we see the building trades unions agreeing not to organize the rubber workers, in return for being allowed to exist. Similar deals were made, explicitly or impliedly, all over the country. "Labor skates" in public office played down militancy in organization strikes and did their utmost to curb it. Finally, the point is reached today where various labor bodies hesitate to take a stand for progressive labor legislation until some old party politician finds it incumbent upon him to come out for it. In strikes, anything which smacks of militancy is denounced as "Communist tactics," even in some so-called "Socialist" unions.

Occasionally, the old language holds on. Some labor official will arise and pompously declare a strike is "war" and that he is prepared to wage it as a "last recourse." Then, he puts one lone picket on the line, with a sandwich sign. The passerby cannot well tell whether this single picket be advertising old clothes or a strike.

Why talk further? This sort of stuff calls for action. A militant labor movement is demanded by American events. It cannot come from the A. F. of L. officialdom. They shout about "militancy" (under pressure from Progressive labor forces) and then—meekly submit to injunctions, turn their backs on the unemployed, fail to see the growing weaknesses of Capitalism and fight for beer. Young people, believe—

(Continued on Page 29)

## ROUSE HIM TO ACTION!

**NO  
HELP  
WANTED**

A SIGN OF  
THE TIMES



*Drawn by Edmund Dufy*

We reproduce this cartoon from a Capitalist newspaper for a definite purpose. The worker, acting as an individual in facing joblessness and wage cuts, has only defeat and destruction before him. His dejected figure must be given militancy and power through organization. In this workers' month of May, we appeal for volunteers to aid in this big undertaking. Join with us in arousing the worker to action!

# Brookwood In Its First Decade

By HELEN G. NORTON

**T**WO workers' education institutions celebrate their tenth anniversaries this spring—Brookwood and the Workers Education Bureau. The W. E. B. observes its birthday by not holding its regular convention. In fact, since the W. E. B. has become the "educational arm of the American Federation of Labor" and rid itself of the annoyance of having on its executive board people who were actually doing workers' education, it has practically ceased to function. Its secretary, Mr. Spencer Miller, Jr., contents himself with contributing the "literary part of the program" to adult education institutes and collaborating on a book, "The Church and Industry." Whether the A. F. of L. finds the present activities of the Bureau sufficiently innocuous or whether it will find it necessary to discontinue the Bureau "for financial reasons" is a matter of conjecture, but the fact remains that at the end of 10 years, the Workers Education Bureau has practically abandoned its original purpose of a clearing house for workers' education projects and its publication of workers' books.

Brookwood, on the other hand, at the end of its first decade is a power in the labor movement. Its graduates are functioning through trade unions, through the C. P. L. A., through the Socialist and Communist parties, in the cooperative, youth and farmer movements, workers' education classes, the industrial department of the Y. W. C. A., and as labor correspondents in this country and abroad. The school does not operate in cloistered academic seclusion. Through the extension department it has been drawn recently into the struggle of southern textile workers to free themselves from the exploitation of employers and of the miners to free themselves from the double exploitation of the employers and corrupt union leaders. At the Brookwood workers' education conferences are to be found representatives of all the progressive groups in the country.

In these 10 years, Brookwood has graduated 186 young men and women, industrial workers, and the close of this year will see 37 more added to that number.

They came from 27 states and seven foreign countries. Of the 172 students

from the United States, over 70 per cent were from the highly industrialized states of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Massachusetts. However, California, Washington and Oregon; Colorado, Montana and Wyoming; Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, Indiana, Ohio and Iowa; Kentucky, Tennessee and Texas; Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland; Connecticut, New Jersey, Rhode Island and Maine have been represented by from one to six students. Of foreign students there have been 14—four from England, three from Canada, two each from Denmark and Belgium, one each from Germany, Sweden and Japan.

The youngest students have been 18 and the oldest 50. The median age was 26. As to sex, 115 or 61 per cent have been men and 71 or 39 per cent, women. And as for nationality, there have been Americans, Italians, Poles, Germans, Jews, Englishmen, Swedes, Negroes, French Canadians and pure French, Irish, Slavs, Hungarians, Armenians, Belgians, Danes, Scotch, Bohemians, Finns, Japanese, Russians, Spaniards and Norwegians studying together. In the way of religion, there has been everything from Catholics to fundamentalist Methodists, and some with no religion at all, save that of the labor movement.

Thirty-five unions have been represented by 150 students from the United States and Canada, constituting 85.7 per cent of the whole number, leaving 14.3 per cent non-union, largely from unorganized industries. The garment trades have been most largely represented with 58 students or 33.1 per cent. Mining is next with 23 students or 13.1 per cent. The metal, building and transportation industries have had 14, 12, and 11 students respectively. With few exceptions these were all union members. Twenty students came from miscellaneous trades — coopers, laundry workers, radio workers, typographers, clerical workers, paving cutters, food workers, pocketbook workers. Students, teachers and social workers have been present to the number of nine. Five have come from the cooperative and farmer movements.

## What Happened

"What will happen to Brookwood now?" was the question in more than

one quarter when the A. F. of L., after several years of non-cooperation and veiled attack, came out in the open and denounced the school, ostensibly as being "un-American, atheistic, and red," but really because it ventured to subject A. F. of L. policies to the same scrutiny and candid evaluation as it did any phenomenon of the movement. It was feared that the school would be hampered in getting students, or at least trade union students from important industries, and that its graduates would have difficulty in functioning in the movement.

It is now possible to advance a tentative answer to these questions, not from conjecture, but from a study of the students and graduates. Brookwood has graduated eight classes, the class which came in in 1921 finishing in 1923. Variations from year to year may not be significant, but if we compare the 1923-1926 classes with those of 1927-1930, certain tendencies are observable. This division is made, not because eight divides nicely into two fours, but because workers' education in general seemed to cease to rise about 1926, and because the class which was graduated in 1927 was the incoming class in 1925 when the A. F. of L. first began openly to show displeasure at Brookwood's activities.

The classes which were graduated between 1923 and 1926, then, had come to Brookwood when workers' education was on the upgrade; when the International Ladies' Garment Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers maintained workers' universities of their own; when the Boston Trade Union College and the labor colleges of Philadelphia and Seattle and Portland were flourishing; when Tom Tippet's educational work among the Illinois miners was going strong; when Pennsylvania Federation classes were functioning; when the Workers Education Bureau was approximating its purpose as a clearing house for workers' education; and when the needle trades unions and the Machinists and the railway unions at least were relatively progressive.

The classes which have been graduated in the last four years have seen the Left-Right struggle embitter and hamper many unions and, with the coming of the Communist dual union policy, bring about civil warfare. They have seen machine control in the unions tighten until no opposition



could function at all. They have seen Brookwood attacked from the right and the left, from within and without, and the complete emasculation of the Workers Education Bureau. They have seen the disintegration of the once powerful United Mine Workers and the loss of textile strikes in Passaic, Elizabethton, Marion and Gastonia. They have seen—and felt—the swing from prosperity to panic (Brookwood knew that money was tight long before Wall Street did).

## Tendencies

What, then, have been the observable tendencies as between the two periods?

1. The number of students remained about the same—92 from 1923 to 1926 and 94 from 1927 to 1930. The school has been practically filled to capacity all the time. We can accommodate only 35 or 40 students and it must be borne in mind that in any one year there were two classes here—the incoming and outgoing.

2. Brookwood has extended its field both geographically and industrially. While the largest percentage of students still come from the Middle Atlantic states (39.3 per cent in 1927-1930), this is a drop of 27 per cent from the previous period. Enrolment from the southern states increased from five students to 13, from the north central states from 15 to 22, from the New England states from 5 to 12, and from the western states from three to seven. More "American" and fewer foreign-born students are coming.

In the first four classes, needle trades workers were 44.5 per cent of the students. In 1927-1930, this drops to 22.8 per cent. There was a slight decrease in metal trades students, but textile workers, who were only 3.6 per cent in 1923-1926, constituted 20.7 per cent of the total enrolment in the second period. Similarly, transportation increased from 1.2 per cent to 10.9 in the second period and there was a slight increase in the number of building trades workers. There were fewer students, teachers and social workers in the second period than in the first. Despite the A. F. of L. ban on Brookwood, the proportion of trade union members actually increased slightly from 85.5 to 85.9 per cent.

3. Forty-nine graduates of 1927-1930 are active in trade unions as against 45 graduates of 1923-1926, although there is a noticeable tendency to rank and file activity rather than official jobs, paid or unpaid. Part of this may be due to the fact that those more

recently graduated have not yet had time to establish themselves, but this is not the whole story.

I have said before that 150 students were members of trade unions when they came to Brookwood. Our records show only 94 now active in unions. Though "membership" and "activity" are not exactly comparable, and though our records, depending on correspondence and hearsay may be somewhat incomplete, there is enough of a difference to be significant. What has happened?

## What Students Do

Some of them can't get jobs in their own industries. Some of our Illinois miners have not worked a day in the mines since they left Brookwood. One of them who has been in Kenosha, Wis., Chicago, and Detroit, writes: "I am still alive but very much disgusted. The unemployment situation is terrible. I have managed to work four months this year, taking any job I could find." A needle pusher who, in addition to a series of poor seasons in the trade, was in the bad graces of his union because of his opposition to the machine, has only recently obtained a job in another industry and joined that union, after having demonstrated for four years that man can live without eating. A machinist, failing to find work in his home town, went up into Michigan to try a career in sugar beets. He wrote an article for Federated Press on "How to Lose \$35 in 17 Weeks" and to Clint Golden he wrote, "I may have to give up my membership in the union for the same reason—lack of money."

Trade union politics has been a contributing factor in non-activity. Some graduates have been expelled; others have quit in disgust. One man, however, practically blacklisted by his union because he defended Brookwood, organized two locals for another railway union, one of which is named for Brookwood.

Some graduates have been blacklisted by employers because of strike or organizational activity and have gone into other and unorganized industries.

Some have turned to the Communist or Socialist party. The fact that the number of graduates engaging in labor political activity has risen from 13 in the 1923-26 group to 30 in the 1927-30 may be considered a result of the stagnation of the trade union movement. Be it said to Brookwood's credit that it has not manufactured any Republicans or Democrats.

A few students have been washouts

because, although in theory they are the most ardent advocates of the co-operative commonwealth, in reality they are natural born leaders of one man parties. They prefer to retire to Olympian heights and wrap themselves in gloomy garments of superiority to await the coming of the millenium—their own particular pet brand of millenium in which they will condescend to function. It may safely be said, however, that Brookwood has not induced this attitude in most cases—they brought it with them.

Unemployment, union politics, blacklisting by the employers, political differences, personal maladjustment—these causes are operative in greater or less degree for most of the persons not now active in union work. It would be difficult to say which was the chief cause. At the moment, possibly our old friend, economic insecurity. I have listed some of the graduates in the "inactive" column very reluctantly because they are heart and soul in the movement, but bodily they are looking for something to eat.

4. More graduates of the later years are teaching or sponsoring workers' education groups, although their work is on a less ambitious scale than in the early years of the movement. Nevertheless, Brookwooders to the number of 14 are promoting or teaching workers' classes in Marion, N. C., Barnard Summer School, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Denver, New York, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin Summer School. There is good teaching material in the present Brookwood student body and this number will probably be increased.

5. Brookwood is not educating workers out of the movement. Of the nine graduates attending other schools, only three are taking non-labor work.

If the class of 1930 may be taken as symptomatic of immediate tendencies, then there are some contrasts. This was a large class (33) because last year Brookwood completed its change to a one-year basic curriculum and both one- and two-year students were graduated. The average age was 26, as in former years. In nationality, it takes a definitely upward swing in the previously gradual tendency toward more native-born students. This is partly accounted for by the large number of southern textile workers. The percentage of trade union members was the lowest of any year—69.6. This is in line with a definite policy on the part of Brookwood to draw more upon the unorganized, unskilled workers. The present student body exhibits this same tendency, lessened

(Continued on Page 29)

# C. P. L. A. Widens Its Action

*Brooklyn Edison Fight . . . Picketing of "Easter Parade" . . .  
Encouraging Progress in Paterson-Passaic District . . .  
Wall Street Demonstration . . .*

**E**ASTER DAY is parade day for the wealthy of New York. Out of the aristocratic churches they come, flouting their finery before gaping lines of onlookers. Fifth Avenue is the particular locale of such parading.

This year the wealthy did not feel so comfortable. They were confronted by an "unusual sight" as the NEW YORK TIMES report put it. C. P. L. A. pickets, to the number of 150, confronted them as they came out of the churches. "You Are Warm—West Virginia Coal Miners Freeze," "I Would Steal Before I Would Starve"—Daniel Willard," "You Wear Fine Clothes—Dressmakers Go Half-Clad" were some of the signs that the pickets carried.

Headed by A. J. Muste and Louis F. Budenz, the pickets covered Fifth Avenue between 55th and 48th Streets for over an hour. The thousands lining the sidewalks, in the buses and in the "parade" noted them, and they distracted attention from the display of finery. The wealthy had to rub shoulders with the pickets, and with these reminders of the challenge to them from the jobless and underpaid workers.

This is the first of the continued demonstrations and picketings which the C. P. L. A. plans to carry on, to arouse the workers by drawing national attention to the unemployment and wage cutting crises.

The second took place on April 30th, the eve of May Day. Thirty-six pickets paraded before the House of Morgan, with riotous conduct on the part of Wall Street clerks promising it national publicity. Further report of that will have to appear in our June issue.

The picketing has been merely a surface exemplification of the enlarged work which the C. P. L. A. is being called upon to do. Briefly, the account runs as follows:

1. West Virginia's story and the C. P. L. A. participation in it are told in the articles in this issue. The St. Louis rank and file convention was aided considerably by the activity of Chairman A. P. Muste and the C. P. L. A. Mufson and Bellaver

cut short their "coast to coast tour" to aid in the preparations for the convention, and Bellaver has now gone to West Virginia to aid Tippet there.

2. In the Paterson-Passaic District much progress has been made toward united action, through the efforts of Louis F. Budenz and Vice President Carl Holderman of the Hosiery Workers. The United Textile Workers in that district, the Associated Silk Workers and young militant groups, such as those who took part in the big Passaic strike, are one in seeing the urgency of an organization drive in that Northern New Jersey section. The Paterson wages and hours have fallen lower than any in the silk industry, and dyeing is particularly in a bad way. Men who formerly worked for \$60 a week are now being paid \$15 to \$20, and in many instances the hours have been increased to 12 and 14 per day. The various groups mentioned have also agreed upon a united program of action, through the solidifying pressure of the C. P. L. A. This is patient, ground-floor work which takes time, and it has been pursued with as much combined patience and aggressiveness as has been possible.

## May Day—and Howat

3. The C. P. L. A. joined in a modest but initial gesture toward unity in participating in the May Day meeting with their organizations at Irving Plaza in New York City. Distinct as are the differences of opinion among these participating bodies, they joined in the thought that on May Day at least they should express agreement on the fight against Capitalism and all it represents. Among the organizations which agreed to take part in the May Day meeting are: Amalgamated Food Workers, Avanti, Communist Party (expelled "Majority Group"), Friends of India's Independence, Il Proletario, Il Martello, Industrial Workers of the World, Verband Internationale Arbeiter, and other labor bodies.

The May Day statement of the Joint Committee for May Day Cele-

bration, issued in connection with this affair, reads as follows:

The American Labor Movement today finds itself confronting an even more challenging situation than it did when May Day was first observed in 1886. Millions of workers find themselves out of jobs because of machinery and the profit system and contemptuously refused relief. Wage-cutting is becoming a common thing in all industries and the speed-up is being widely introduced, together with a widespread attack upon the so-called American standard of living, while the no-strike policy of the American Federation of Labor serves merely to encourage these attacks upon the workers. The injunction, the police and sheriff's forces appear as agents of repression in every strike or lockout—when workers dare to exercise their right to organize. Organizations and groups raising their voices against the Present System are attacked and jailed. Foreign-born workers are being deported by the hundreds, in a new campaign of terrorism. The forces of Capitalist Reaction have entrenched themselves by every device at their command.

A widespread agitation has been set on foot against the Soviet Union, since it stands out as a challenge to the Capitalist order.

At this time unity is needed as never before. As it is, Labor finds itself weak because divided. To achieve any forward step against Reaction there must be a united stand on the part of those who think realistically of the necessities of the workers in America. As a contribution toward that unity, these organizations have cooperated in this May Day meeting.

We call for a revival of the American Labor Movement, with the building up of militant forces within that movement. We pledge ourselves to a vigorous fight for systematic relief for the unemployed, for the six-hour day, and for international solidarity with the workers everywhere against the growing menace of imperialist war.

We urge the workers, organized and unorganized, to rally together to a common program of action for the defense

of workers' standards and against wage-cutting and the speed-up, for the end of deportations, the defense of the Soviet Union, the destruction of Capitalist terrorism and a real fight against the Profit System in the United States.

Alexander Howat, chairman of the Policy Committee formed at the St. Louis rank and file convention, was slated as the chief speaker. Each organization had representatives to address the meeting briefly. Chairman Muste represented the C. P. L. A. and Louis F. Budenz was chairman of the meeting. The suggestion for such an effort came from our National Executive Committee member, Ludwig Lore, editor of the New York VOLKS-ZEITUNG.

4. Although the Wright Aeroplane strike was voted at an end this past month by the strikers, due to financial pressure, we are continuing our contacts there. Preparations will be made for another struggle, more militant and effective. The National Executive Committee had had, prior to the calling off of the strike, the following report from Executive Secretary L. F. Budenz on the situation:

"There has been no militant effort to get a sustained message to possible strikebreakers or to dramatize the issue, although there are great possibilities for doing so. As a result, a great number of strikebreakers have been employed, with the aid of the National Metal Trades Association, bitter anti-union combine. In its present status, the strike is lost, so far as bringing the Wright Company to time is concerned. What is needed is another attempt, a bit later, with a complete understanding on a militant program of action, in which the C.P.L.A. can take the lead."

We are therefore continuing our contacts in the Wright situation, with a view to a more militant campaign than the International Association of Machinists had been able to conduct.

### Brooklyn Edison Challenged

5. The unemployment program of the Brooklyn Edison Company was called to our attention by workers in that big utility. Meetings were immediately called at the company gates, on pay day. The laying off of 1,600 men, after they had been promised steady jobs and had been given their vacation slips for the year, was de-

noying the speakers but drove the audience away. However, men in the pay line got the message of the need for organization—and there is much ferment in the Brooklyn Edison as a result. This campaign will be continued vigorously, with the cooperation of Bert Miller. J. B. Matthews of the Fellowship of Reconciliation will be the chief speaker at the company gates the first Wednesday in May.

6. We are increasing our contacts with other groups, in the attack on the deportations delirium of the present, the wage-cutting policy, and the general offensive of Capitalist Reaction.

More and more, the C. P. L. A. is emerging as a group which can weld together labor bodies of diverse opinion and can bring into action the maximum of forces on a given situation. A number of meetings to lay the ground-work for such activities on an effective scale have taken place during the past month, and the resultant action will be noted in the coming months. Particularly will June and July be crowded with our activities, either initiated alone or in co-operation with other groups.

These increasing activities in the field are attracting increasing numbers of young people to our ranks. They bring enthusiasm and a desire to DO. At the same time, one agitation leads to demands for its extension to another scene. The Brooklyn Edison meetings have led to requests that we speak at the Julius Kayser Company, ancient enemy of the United Textile Workers, the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers and of the workers in general. We shall not hesitate to accept such invitations.

### HEAD OF "EASTER DAY" PICKET LINE



A. J. Muste and Louis F. Budenz begin the march for West Virginia miners and the unemployed.

nounced. A petition to the Mayor of New York has been prepared and is being circulated, attacking the wage-cutting and unemployment program of the Brooklyn Edison. The meetings have caused much concern among company officials and the police have been pressed into service in an effort to harass the speakers. At the last meeting, on April 29, the police tried to stop the meeting, with threats of arrest. When told to go ahead and make arrests, they desisted from an-



# HEAD OF "EASTER DAY" PICKET LINE



A. J. Muste and Louis F. Budenz begin the march for West Virginia miners and the unemployed.



### SPAIN

Progressive workers in the land of the Dons covered themselves with glory by acting up to the best traditions of Labor when they combined their numbers and their energy in one grand drive against reaction and Toryism. They succeeded beyond the wildest dreams of the most imaginative idealist and the world of labor and progress is congratulating the union men of Spain who by their coolness, audacity and organization destroyed in a day the last and most powerful citadel of Feudalism and Monarchy. There were men, and men of intelligence and eminence too, who thought the Spanish Tory system and rule would last forever. But they reckoned without the idealism and the persistency of labor. Three Socialists are now sitting in the cabinet—places that were sacred seats for dukes, marquises and counts of the old nobility. The proudest ambassadors are displaced by democratic and radical writers, teachers and mechanics. The Spanish Revolution next to the Russian is the most important event of this century. We will not speculate on the possibilities, nor will we outline the course of the Revolution for peaceful and orderly as the change appears to us now it may turn to and develop extremes of action such as confiscation of the lands of the nobility and the property of the church. All big changes started peacefully and quiet but as the old order resisted and defended its privileges and property against the demands of the new and rising social order platitudes and speeches gave way to the firing squad and the guillotine. Of course we have new times and new methods but human nature is much the same everywhere and was in every age. If the reactionists of Spain accept the new order without fighting it will be the first time in history that a ruling class surrendered power without making some show of resistance towards the class that is displacing it.

# In Other Lands

United States, through our State Department, as usual played the ingrate as well as the fool by failing to recognize the Spanish Republic at once. It did the same with Portugal, Ireland and indeed in this age with every nation that had a revolution. It was only prompt once in recognizing a new order and that was in the case of Panama—a revolution it created itself. Britain with its Labor government was also very tardy in recognition which does not speak well for MacDonald and his associates in the British cabinet. France and the other republics of Europe and America lived up to their democratic traditions by giving almost immediate recognition to the new order in Spain. About the only country not in the recognition picture is Japan. The Vatican State though watching with anxious eyes the new developments in its last great official stronghold has not exchanged courtesies with the new republic. Because it has most to lose it is keeping in close touch with the cabinet officers through the Madrid hierarchy. In both instances, the Oriental power and the Pope were expected to wait till the last as neither Roman nor Tokio potentate was ever known to rush matters of state.

This is the third attempt to overthrow the Bourbons and the second to establish a democratic republic. As there is a strong Socialist movement and a powerful Syndicalist group of organizations this latest effort of the Dons to revolutionize their political system has a splendid chance of success. June 21 or even sooner will see the Republic tested by plebiscite and if the municipal elections mean anything the majority vote for the Republican candidates ought to be larger than the recent total poll. After the elections the real revolution will start. What transpired last month was but a curtain raiser, a prelude to the economic changes that must follow if the revolution is to mean anything more than a change of politicians, of the ins and the outs. Our own opinion of the Separatist movement in Catalonia and the Basque territories is that they are greatly exaggerated. Those sections will get autonomy and will be satisfied with a measure of freedom for cultural and local purposes.

### IRELAND

All the building trades of Dublin were on strike for three months against the Master Builders Association and ended on the first week of April with victory for the workers. The teachers held their an-

nual congress and were able to report a 100 per cent union organization. The Irish National Teachers Union is affiliated with other trades and its members are active in the Labor Party. The North Ireland Labor Party passed a resolution condemning the partition of the Island into two states. The Irish Trade Union Congress and the Labor Party are the most consistent opponents of religious intolerance, chauvinism and race antagonism in the country. They have never sanctioned or approved in any way the so-called boundaries of the two states. The North Ireland state reports 74,000 unemployed which is the largest in the country and taken by sections in the United Kingdom.

### GREAT BRITAIN

The MacDonald Labor government continues in office by the grace of Lloyd George and his Liberals. Many of the Labor Party's best bills were emasculated by the Liberals and some were lost outright. The Liberal allies have almost become MacDonald's masters. It is conceded now that the government will be tolerated and kept in office because of its very futility by the Liberals for the constitutional limit. Several times it has been threatened with destruction but has managed to survive. The best certificate of its sanity and cautiousness came from Stanley Baldwin, the Tory leader, who supported MacDonald's India policy. On the other hand the I. L. P. led by Maxton has been extremely caustic in its criticism of the government. Some party members even voted against MacDonald in the House of Commons. The I. L. P. concluded its annual conference with a barrage of attacks which led many to believe there was a split in sight. Maxton however favored staying in the ranks of the Labor Party although the majority of the I. L. P. delegates and several of its Members of Parliament favored censuring the government for its weakness in administrative work and its failure in legislation. Fenner Brockway and others made life miserable for Clynes and his associates in the cabinet for their not allowing Trotzky to reside in Britain while the ex-King of Spain, another political exile, is allowed to enter without a passport and go where he pleases unmolested.

### GERMANY, AUSTRIA AND FRANCE

After Germany gave the Fascists their worst setback and made Chancellors (Continued on Page 29)

# A WORKER INDICTS THE A. F. of L.

By SAM FISHER

**T**WO years ago the American Federation of Labor proclaimed to the whole world that the time had come to abolish industrial slavery in the South. Joint conferences were held with different organizations and a program was outlined for an organizing campaign.

At these conferences the various organizations promised their support to the A. F. of L.—the Women's Trade Union League, the League for Industrial Democracy, the Emergency Strike Committee, the Workers Education Bureau, the Federal Council of Churches, and other organizations. A committee of 1,000 was appointed with Mrs. Daniel O'Day, Vice Chairman of the Democratic State Committee at Rye, N. Y., as chairman, to assist in the campaign. (See the New York Times of July 15, 1929.)

The situation for the A. F. of L. was favorable. The Southern workers were eager to fight for organization. This has been proven by the struggle and sacrifices the workers have gone through in Elizabethton, Gastonia, Marion and Danville.

Now let us make an analysis and see what the A. F. of L. has achieved during the last two years in the South. The A. F. of L. demonstrated two things during the Southern campaign. First, the A. F. of L. has shown to the whole world its inefficiency in financing local strikes, not to speak of a general strike. Second, the A. F. of L. is driving the workers into company unions and is destroying the workers' faith in unionism.

Why has the A. F. of L. failed in the Southern campaign? We must know the history of the A. F. of L. During its forty-four years of existence the A. F. of L. has not succeeded in organizing a single basic industry. It has not checked company unions, or injunctions. It does not believe in industrial unionism, but spends most of its time in jurisdictional disputes. On the political field it believes in lobbying and catering to the Republican and Democratic parties, who are enemies of Labor.

## Campaigns Fail

In 1919 during the great steel strike the A. F. of L. and its affiliates sabotaged the strike and with the aid of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers' Union, broke the

heroic struggle. In 1926, the A. F. of L. undertook a campaign to organize the automobile workers and failed. It is now two and a half years since the A. F. of L. began the campaign in the South, although they had the support of the whole labor movement, liberals, progressives and civic organizations. The A. F. of L. not only failed but deserted and betrayed the Southern workers.

The Southern campaign was a fiasco, it died before it was started. When President Green, in his statements to the press, appealed to the employers to give the A. F. of L. a trial, he said if they did not, Communist unions would invade the South. These statements showed the weakness and the cowardice of the A. F. of L. leadership. It also proved that the A. F. of L. was not ready to put up a fight for the Southern workers, who are the prey of the most brutal and uncivilized employers. Moreover, President Green, in his speeches during the campaign, assured the employers that the A. F. of L. came to the South not to wage strikes, but to keep the Communists out. This shows that the A. F. of L. was not sincere in launching the campaign in the South. Otherwise, it would not have used such methods. Is it any wonder that the Danville strike was lost?

It will be of significance to the readers of Labor Age, to know that a few days before the Danville strike was called off, a news item appeared in the New York Telegram of January 22, 1931, which read: "Fish to study Danville strike. Workers have appealed to Representative J. Hamilton Fish to investigate alleged Communist activities in Danville strike area." Then in a statement Francis J. Gorman, Vice President of the United Textile Workers of America, and leader of the strike declared "that communists have been imported from Gastonia, N. C., and elsewhere to attack the labor organization both inside and outside the mills."

This provocative statement is absurd, and no one in the labor movement will take it seriously. It merely shows the bankruptcy of the A. F. of L. to organize the workers in the South. Since when have the textile employers become so good natured as to deal with the Communists and not with the genuine patriotic A. F. of L.?

## Why Ask Fish?

If the charges were true, why did Gorman ask the Fish committee to investigate? Why didn't he get a committee of the labor movement to investigate? Who is Ham Fish, and what interest does he have in the labor movement? Fish is the most reactionary fascist representative of the ruling class in America. He is trying to outlaw the Communist party, introducing lynching laws and deportations, which will mean a death-blow to the entire labor movement in this country if these laws go into effect. Francis J. Gorman went to the Fish committee for the purpose of killing two birds with one stone. First, to cover up his strike-breaking in Danville, and second, to use the Communists as the scapegoat for the loss of the Danville strike.

Progressive trade unionists should condemn severely the action of Gorman for going to the Fish committee, and for betraying the workers, after four months of struggle. Progressives aided the strikers and they have a right to question the action of Gorman and his associates.

The question then should be raised whether progressives can be silent and let these black reactionaries get away with selling out and betraying the workers, or whether progressives should unite with left elements and work out a plan for future activities. Progressives ought to give serious thought to the matter and a discussion should be opened in the columns of Labor Age.

Progressives, militants, lefts, all will agree that the job of organizing the basic industries will not be done by the present reactionary A. F. of L. officialdom. 1. Because the present leadership cannot raise money to finance a strike. 2. They do not have the leadership which will make sacrifices. 3. They have no machinery for this work. 4. The leadership is "jingoistic" and "patriotic" and it has faith in the capitalist system. Therefore, organizing the South and the mechanical industries will have to be done by a militant, progressive, able group, with red blood, willing to sacrifice, and ready to give industrial battle when necessary, not through appeals to employers, but through mass organization



# Metal Miners Need Union

## A Worker's Report from California

By CHARLES W. GARDNER

ORGANIZATION of the basic industries is a vast problem confronting the labor movement. One of these basic industries has received very little consideration from progressive unionists east of the Mississippi. It is, to a great extent, isolated in camps in the Rocky Mountains and along the Pacific slope. But here is where trade union history was made and of a militant character. That is in the metal mining and refining industry.

The development of metal mining in the West began the "gold rush" to California in 1849 and, later, in other western states. The simple process of placer mining needed but a pick, shovel, pan and 'rocker.' The gold was in the sand and gravel along the rivers, washed there by the streams that had cut through ore veins up in the mountains. The search for placer gold led to the discovery of gold and other minerals in the rocky formations. This led to the formation of companies to buy machinery, hire miners and engage in exploitation. So the development of capitalist production began in those "high hills in the West."

The struggle for ownership was equally as vicious as the struggle between owners and workers. Claims and ore were stolen, judges were corrupted and legislatures bought. In Butte, Montana dynamite and smoke gases were included until consolidation led to orderly industrial development. Gold and silver mining is possible with small capital but baser metals such as copper, zinc, lead, or iron compel large scale production and distribution. The Anaconda Copper Mining Company is an example. This corporation controls mining properties in Chile, Mexico and the United States, its own smelters, and refining plants, the International Smelting Company and the American Brass Company. The Phelps Dodge Cor-

poration, another copper producer, controls Nichols Copper and National Electric. U. S. Steel and National Lead Company lead in their groups. Such is the situation confronting Organized Labor to day.

### W. F. M. Today

This industry was formerly organized by the Western Federation of Miners, a militant industrial union. With the consolidation of mines and the factional fights between the syndicalist and trade union groups, the Western Federation of Miners was disrupted. This dissension dates back to the foundation of the I. W. W. and the later withdrawal of the W. F. M. from that body. In 1911, the W. F. M. affiliated with the A. F. of L. and in 1916 changed its name to International Union of Mill, Mine and Smelter Workers. By 1926 the membership dropped to 20,000 and is now about 3,000. Ninety per cent are employed by the Anaconda Copper Mining Company in the Anaconda (Montana) and Great Falls (Montana) smelters, and the hoisting engineers and pumpmen of Butte, Montana. At present there is only one active local of miners, the tunnel workers at Livermore, California; also a few union furnace workers at Jackson, Ohio.

The jurisdiction of this International is industrial in mineral mines, mills, refineries, cement plants, gypsum mines and plants, blast furnaces, tunnels, cuts, aqueducts and dams. At present there are not over a couple hundred miners affiliated. With the decline of the W. F. M., they were attracted by the propaganda of the I. W. W. in tunnel and mining camps but became disgusted with that group's policies and became dormant. There is a "left wing" sentiment but

the vast majority are progressive unionists in their views. There is a general dislike for the official policies of the A. F. of L.

### Roving Miners

The metal and tunnel miners are a roving and independent group, about the same as in the pioneer days. Mine and construction camp life is a general rule. A camp consists of a boarding house, bunk houses, a supply store and an office. When the mine is developed to employ a couple of hundred men or more, some houses are built for men with families. These houses generally have electric lights and running water, some have modern conveniences. The supply store becomes a general store but it is not compulsory to trade there, thanks to the old W. F. M. If the mining district is large, cities like Butte, Montana or Bisbee, Arizona may develop. But the great majority of miners are single and travel from place to place.

The wages vary in different districts. \$3.75 is the lowest up to \$6.00 though contract or bonus work may bring a little more. This is since the 20-30 per cent cut. The mill and smeltermen receive \$3.25 minimum up. The seven hour day prevails generally in most camps. There is an eight hour law in the western states. Tunnel miners generally receive more wages than metal miners.

Progressive trade unionists should give serious consideration to this basic industry, the organization possibilities are the most favorable. A constructive policy like the Amalgamated Clothing Workers or Hosiery Workers would be welcomed. Large groups of coal miners are entering the metal mines and should be a great aid. Most of the miners are idle at present but Boulder Dam may relieve the situation. In this field there is much work for progressive unionists.

# Gandhi Betrays!

By BERT MILLER

**T**HE infamous peace pact signed by Gandhi with Lord Irwin, will go down in the annals as one of the greatest betrayals ever perpetrated in all history. To estimate its extent it is necessary to review the situation which existed before the pact was signed.

It was not just idle talk when Winston Churchill uttered his significant warning that "Loss of India would consummate the downfall of the British Empire." Already according to the "Labor" Secretary of State for India, Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the India boycott had had the effect of cutting down British imports by about one-half, resulting in a loss which is estimated at not less than 120 million pounds annually. The lucrative liquor traffic has been hard hit, resulting in Bombay alone to a loss for the British government of 6,000,000 rupees (\$2,000,000). British tea has been boycotted on a national scale. The profitable tourist trade has been reduced to but one-fifth of its former proportions. From 66,000,000 pounds the British cotton import to India has been cut down to 14,000,000 pounds—a net loss of 52,000,000 pounds.

In the face of this powerful assault on its most vulnerable spot, its pocket-book, Great Britain has resorted to a campaign of frightfulness which finds few equals in the history of imperialist oppression. The more ruthless this campaign became, the more determined became the resistance of the Indian people. The jails of India were packed with over 70,000 political prisoners. In spite of Gandhi's appeal for non-violence, even the women and children entered upon such a widespread boycott, picketing and civil disobedience, that one press correspondent declared that the British rulers were virtually prisoners in India, not daring to venture forth without elaborate armed guards and the utmost precautions. A number of high British imperialist minions were killed in the campaign of resistance against the oppressors. A tremendous mass campaign developed. In the province of Burma, this campaign took the form of an armed uprising

against the foreign oppressor. In certain cities, the Indian National Congress openly challenged the authority of the Viceroy and virtually ruled the city. The Round Table Conference and its delegates were ridiculed and spurned by the masses of the Indian people, who threatened to receive the returning delegates with black flags. All groups were united in their common resistance to British rule. Lord Irwin was thoroughly discredited and slated for replacement by Lord Willingdon. Incidentally the inspiration of the Indian struggle spread to Ireland, Arabia and Egypt which also showed signs of developing resistance to British imperialism. In the United States there was widespread sympathy for the Indian struggle. The British imperialist government under the leadership of Ramsay MacDonald, was in a bad way, virtually facing the danger of losing the "brightest jewel of the British crown." And then came the betrayal!

Never in his wildest dreams could Lord Irwin, who is now greeted by the British imperialists as "a second Lincoln," have wished for a more abject surrender of the interests of the Indian people. As soon as Gandhi agreed to call off the civil disobedience and the boycott of British goods, the whip was firmly replaced in the hands of the British. It was like bargaining with the boss after calling off a strike. Irwin could dictate terms at his pleasure.

The truce serves to reestablish to some degree the tottering power of British imperialism. The right of national defense, the control of the army, the police, foreign relations, national credit, tariffs, these matters are firmly in the hands of the British government. The Indians gain the right to make salt at the seacoast, which is equivalent to the right to make ice at the North Pole in the winter time. The prisoners to be released are to be only those who are not for violence—decision being made of course with the help and advice of Gandhi, who thus becomes virtually the jailer of the bravest and most militant Indian revolutionists and his possible oppon-

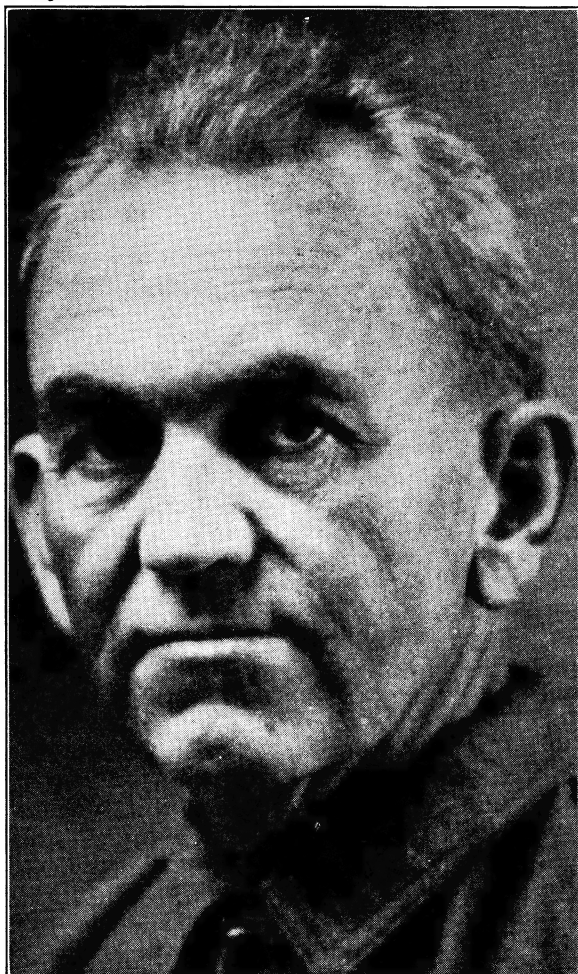
ents in the National Congress. Gandhi, according to the latest reports is to go to London, where he will be exhibited as the latest acquisition of British imperialism, its most effective instrument in its ruthless despoilation of the Indian nation.

## Signs of Revolt

But the picture is not altogether a black one. Although scant news seeps through the elaborate British press censorship, signs are not wanting that there are forces in India, which will "carry on," in spite of Gandhi's surrender. Within the Indian National Congress, rebellious voices are being heard. Jawaharlal Nehru is coming out repeatedly for the demands of the Lahore Congress of 1929, for complete independence, and declares that he is a very "disgruntled man." Sen Gupta, the right hand man of Gandhi was openly jeered off the platform in Bengal recently, when he tried to speak for the peace pact. In certain places, the civil disobedience and boycott is being continued in spite of Gandhi's behests to the contrary. The Indian youth has accused Gandhi of "selling out." In Bombay, Gandhi was publicly jeered and hissed at a mass meeting, while even Patel is giving some signs of desire to continue the struggle, although he comes out for the acceptance of the peace pact.

Since the signing of the Gandhi-Irwin "peace-pact," the British government has shown its utter contempt for the Indian people and the "truce" by ruthlessly executing three political prisoners. Bhagat Singh, Sukh Dev and Raj Guru on the eve of the Karachi Congress, and in the face of a tremendous popular demand for their release. The left wing of the Indian National Congress has decided to support the "truce" while expressing severe criticisms thereof. Mehta openly demanded repudiation of the pact. Gandhi, while still maintaining control of the Congress, is left in the unenviable position of assuming full responsibility for the pact and the coming Round Table Conference.

## Fight for Mooney!



While we enjoy Spring sunshine, Tom Mooney remains behind the walls of San Quentin, railroaded and betrayed. It is up to us to free him. Protest to Governor Rolph of California at once and arrange demonstrations demanding Mooney's release. LABOR AGE shall continue to run a picture of Tom Mooney in its pages—as a reminder to all of us—until he is freed.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC. REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, of Labor Age, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1931. State of New York, County of New York, ss.:

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Louis F. Budenz, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Managing Editor of Labor Age and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of Aug. 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, and managing editor are:

Publisher—Labor Publication Society, Inc., 104 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Managing Editor—Louis Francis Budenz, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is (If owned by a corporation its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given).

Labor Publication Society, Inc., (a membership corporation with approximately 200 members); James H. Maurer, President, 1355 N. 11th St., Reading, Pa.; Harry W. Laidler, Treasurer, 112 E. 19th St., New York City; Louis Francis Budenz, Managing Editor and Secretary, 104 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ.

Managing Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 6th day of April, 1931.

(Seal)

ERNEST BOHM.

Notary Public.

(My commission expires March 30, 1933)

## The Future in the Miners' Union

(Continued from page 3)

while the call for the convention went to most of the locals in Illinois, there were probably many locals in which the call was never read, and in many other instances local meetings were doubtless poorly attended and the rejection of the call a mere routine affair. In other words, the work of pressing past the wall of officials and actually carrying an educational campaign to the rank and file has yet to be done. Only when that has been attempted, will the temper of the rank and file be known.

Finally, progressives must not lose sight of the basic fact that the movement to build a sound miners' union must be a national one. The business of pitting one field against another, one district against another, is one of the big rea-

sons for the sad condition in which the miners' union finds itself today. The argument that we should support the fine organizing campaign going on in West Virginia "and forget about Illinois" is terribly dangerous. Leave Lewis completely free from worry in the anthracite, in Illinois and elsewhere and he is in a position to train all his guns on that promising West Virginia movement and wreck it completely. Scattered local efforts, with no common policy, no binding tie, no provision for bringing the miners in one district to the support of the miners in another, are bound to fail. The effort to work on a national scale is tremendously difficult, yet it must be made. It would be better to fail in an intelligent attempt to do the right thing than to succeed in doing the wrong thing.



## "Say It With Books"



### Forced Labor in American Lumber

**Labor and Lumber**, by Charlotte Todes, International Publishers. (Workers' Edition—Illustrated.) \$1.00.

ONCE upon a time," an old story goes, a little boy set out in search of his heart's desire, a pot of gold, which he expected to find at the end of the rainbow. After wandering in far off countries he returned home an old man bitterly disappointed. Then while digging in his own back yard he found a pot of gold!

When I read **Labor and Lumber** by Charlotte Todes I was reminded of the boy and his rainbow hunt. Which in turn reminded me of several little boys including the members of the Fish Committee searching in strange lands today for their heart's desire—forced labor in the timber industry. The joke is on them. While they search for the rainbow in the Soviet Union, Charlotte Todes finds pots and pots of their forced labor in timber right here in our own yard—the U. S. A.

In America hundreds of thousands of workers are forced to accept low wages in the timber industry or starve. They are forced by the blacklist—a regular clearing house has been established to handle inter-company blacklist — company unions, by the National Guard, welfare schemes, and peonage.

**Labor and Lumber** is one of a series of books by International Publishers treating American industries not from the viewpoint of the employer, the personnel manager, the technical expert, but from that of the worker.

Do you want to know the present conditions of the lumber industry in terms of ownership of raw materials, trends, control of markets and profits, and how it all affects the workers? What can workers learn from the bitter experiences of past struggles? What are the new forms of struggle, and what are the policies and tactics the workers must pursue? Or would you like to know something about the timber grabs of the railroads? These are a few of the questions dealt with by Miss Todes who has

lived in the Northwest and has studied the industry there at first hand.

The 500,000 lumber workers in this country are mostly native Americans. Negroes predominate in the South. A great many immigrants are scattered all over. Who knew that during the war thousands of women were forced into the industry? Many of them still remain!

Is there any place in American industry where there is more hell and less comfort than in the lumber camps? You'll think not after reading this book. In it Wobblies, A. F. of L.-ites and others who have worked and are working on the job describe their life in timber, the camps with the bed bugs, the wooden-shelf beds, the food, the housing, the dangers.

Is there more dangerous work? Maybe so. But climb to the top of a gigantic tree and cut the top from it! The life of the "high climber" is told in graphic detail. Look at the picture of the hands of shingle weavers on page 96. Out of three hands shown 12 fingers are missing.

Wages for lumber workers? In the South the weekly range is from \$9.77 for laborers to \$23.38 for skilled workers. A few of the extra skilled make a little more. Much of the pay is in scrip. In Washington and California for the perilous jobs of hookers and laborers \$19.20 is the average weekly wage. What is the effect of unemployment on the workers?

To keep the timber workers from organizing, the bosses have always resorted to all the forced labor devices including the courts and terrorism. Pitched battles have been fought between the workers and the allies of the timber barons. In the heart of the South, white and Negro workers, side by side, have fought the enemy—many died on both sides. In Bogalusa, La., for example, armed white workers escorted a Negro organizer through the streets acting as a bodyguard against the timber police. In the same strike thugs of the Great Southern Lumber Co. at Bogalusa

murdered Lum Williams, organizer, along with several rank and file workers. In Everett and Centralia, Wash.—all over the Northwest—heroic lumber workers through their battles established important American labor traditions for struggle. In these fights Japanese, Chinese, Negro, and various immigrant workers struck side by side with native whites.

Some fights were won; some were lost. Today the industry is unorganized. The I. W. W. met with more success and held their gains longer than any other group. Now it has lost all its organization strength. Can it come back? Will and can the A. F. of L. do the job? What has the new industrial union of the communists' to recommend it to the timber workers? **Labor and Lumber** treats these questions intelligently, thoroughly.

The widespread practice of peonage in the lumber industry, though briefly touched by the author, could have been developed to greater extent by Miss Todes. For example, in 1907 a Congressional Investigating Committee unearthed peonage in every part of the timber industry in this country. In Maine, the home state of Senator Nelson, a member of the Fish Committee, the 1907 Committee found the worst form of forced labor in the entire industry.

WALTER WILSON.

#### THE LABOR AND INDUSTRY SERIES

AS Walter Wilson mentions in his review, "Labor and Lumber," is one of a series of studies issued by the International Publishers. One of these works—"Labor and Textiles"—was reviewed in our March issue. Another—"Labor and Coal"—will be covered next month. Although frankly championing the Communist-controlled unions in each case, these works are packed full of useful facts for active laborites and students of the labor struggle.



## That Labor Cooperation Illusion

**Union Management Cooperation on the Railroads, by Louis Aubrey Wood. Yale University Press. \$4.00.**

**T**HAT union management cooperation as practiced on certain railroad systems in the United States would benefit the employer more than the worker has always been the contention of radical and progressive laborites. The contention is now borne out by this detailed, careful, and cautious study issued by the highly respectable Yale University Press. The author flatly states:

"The workers have been thoroughly convinced and railroad management has generally been ready to admit that the companies receive more lucrative returns from practices of cooperation than do the men."

He points out that in giving effect to certain suggestions affecting ventilation, heating, mechanical safe-guarding, etc., the railroads have undoubtedly spent sums of money considerably in excess of what would have been their ordinary outlay for the purposes involved, but adds:

"If the investigator makes a wide survey of the minutes of cooperative committees, attending certain of their meetings in person, and if he examines evidence gathered from a sufficient number of suggestions, the results of which can be measured, he will assuredly come to the opinion that the carriers' gains have out-ranked those of the workers."

The gains which the workers have obtained from the so-called B. & O. Plan may be grouped under the following heads:

First: Certain direct physical satisfactions, as better ventilation, cleaner toilets, better tools and material, more handily located, etc.

Second: Possible psychological gains accruing from working in an atmosphere of "cooperation and good will," freed from nagging by foremen, etc.

Third: Steadier employment.

Fourth: In the case of the Canadian National Railway System, the introduction of a one week's vacation with pay.

On the other side of the ledger are many other considerations. The railroads, according to the author, have made a good deal from concrete suggestions made by the men, freedom from stoppages, and the smooth and efficient service given by the shopmen. As the author points out, it is exceedingly difficult to measure just how much the rail-

road gains from a given improvement in repairing a locomotive boiler, for example, how much of such a gain should be credited under the cooperative plan to the men or to the management, and how the men are to be compensated financially for their aid. In no case has any railroad system worked out a plan to give the men in dollars and cents their share of the gains that may have accrued, though in a couple of instances committees are working on the problem.

It seems clear that for the regular working forces on the railroads involved employment has been stabilized. Doubtless this is an advantage for the men on the regular force. It means, however, that there are a considerable number of men who under earlier conditions might have had temporary jobs on these railroads who now cannot find work on them at all. In other words, stabilization may mean steadier work for those who are lucky enough to have jobs but less work than before for an increasing number of people, who become attached to a permanent army of unemployed.

Union management cooperation has not, of course, put any stop to the tendency of the railroads to get along with fewer and fewer men. As a matter of fact, it is arguable that the plan by introducing more rapid and efficient operations has accentuated the process.

Whether the possible psychological gains to the men from working in an atmosphere of "cooperation and good will" may be more than offset by the loss in aggressiveness and initiative on the part of their unions, and whether this may not mean a serious loss to the men in some industrial crisis in which they may presently find themselves, is an important question. There are indications that under the cooperative plan the thought of the officers and men in the railroad unions is fixed on problems of efficiency, etc. in the shop, and that in the meantime the problems of the working class as a whole, on the trade union and the political field, get less attention from them.

The author suggests that the plan has not yet taken a very deep hold upon the men and also that the concrete suggestions for improvements which they make probably do not have a tremendously great value. The question arises whether this is because the men really have no very valuable technical suggestions to make or whether they do not care to do so, consciously or uncon-

sciously, under a system where they do not share definitely the gains of cooperation. Have the rank and file, perhaps, a vague feeling, now that the first excitement over the introduction of the cooperative plan has passed, that there is no very profound difference between working on a system where the plan is in effect as compared to a system where it is not?

This question certainly emerges from a reading of this very detailed, carefully written, and cautious study.

A. J. M.

### LABOR JOURNALISM

**Journalistic Vocations, by Prof. Charles Elkins Rogers. 354 pages. D. Appleton & Co., \$2.50.**

**W**HAT appears to be an innovation in a book on journalism, published to serve as a guide to beginners, is the setting aside of an entire chapter to the labor press. This has been done by Prof. Rogers in a meaty volume devoted to various branches of journalistic work, editorial, advertising, circulation, etc.

Helen G. Norton, instructor in journalism at Brookwood Labor College, who contributed this chapter, as a result of a thorough study of the subject presents a comprehensive survey of the labor press that the beginner, and for that matter the advanced student, will find very informative.

Miss Norton points out that the labor press differs from the ordinary in that it is a crusading press, as "in common with the rest of the labor movement, it has a mission." And while the difficulties in the way of publishing a labor paper often are overwhelming, the writer explains, "There is about such an office the atmosphere of a missionary outpost or an emergency relief base—a few zealots working all hours at all sorts of jobs, and getting a tremendous amount of satisfaction out of it, even though their shoes are shabby and their stomachs empty."

It is indeed a precarious business, but journalism has always made a strong appeal to imaginative young people. Couple this general appeal with a crusading, missionary spirit, and there is something about labor journalism that is irresistible to the student looking for exciting activity. Discouraging to the beginner, however, is the fact that as things stand today opportunities for entering this field are few and far between.

LEONARD BRIGHT.

## Brookwood In Its First Decade

(Continued from Page 19)

somewhat by the large quota of miners.

### Not Hampered by A. F. of L.

Judging from the number of applicants, Brookwood had not been hampered by the A. F. of L. attack and even profited from the reams of free advertising it furnished. Judging also from the general level of last year's and this year's classes which is as high or higher than in former years, we have not suffered. True, we no longer receive so many scholarships from trade unions, but this is compensated for in other sources, and our experience with handpicked scholars has not been unadulteratedly happy. Moreover, we still get applications from members of some of the most hard-boiled unions.

The point at which a break with the official labor movement may have the most effect is in the functioning of students immediately after graduation. The unions view their "educated" members with suspicion and students who have come from unorganized industries may find it hard to create their own base of operation.

Nevertheless, after ten years of workers' education, Brookwood has reason to be proud of its graduates, an unsuspected number of whom are doing the difficult and dreary job of pounding away at local opposition and inertia. Brookwood as an experiment was something unique which excited curiosity; Brookwood as the leading workers' education institution in the country has passed the romantic pioneer stage, but its influence is widespread. It has not contented itself with educating workers in theories, but has had its finger in many labor pies throughout the country. And it is certainly significant that while the Workers Education Bureau celebrates its tenth anniversary by not holding a convention, independent workers' education representatives, meeting at Brookwood under union auspices, lay plans for another clearing house, such as the W. E. B. was intended to be.

## In Other Lands

(Continued from Page 22)

Bruening its political dictator and strong man the Reich formed an economic union with Austria. This was the signal for Paris and London to give vent to cries of anger and pain. France opposed unity of the two German states. Arthur Henderson, the London Foreign Secretary, who is supposed to be an internationalist joined France in its protest. Both France and Britain were exposed as inconsistent in their claims for a United States of Europe and their pleas for economic recovery. Rumors of a deal between Czechoslovakia and other states carved out of old Austria under French direction and with the added inducement of a French loan are being circulated. No doubt there will be counter proposals but the economic union of Austria and Germany will stand with others drawn into it later. The French and British will have to invent other methods to retard growth in Central Europe. The trade unions of Central Europe will force economic unity and Fascisti agitation will compel the central nations to work in harmony. The Spanish elections are bound to have sobering effect on all the reactionists.

P. L. QUINLAN

## The Union Returns to Kanawha

(Continued from Page 7)

strain of Americans, and whose outstanding trait is loyalty."

They are right indeed, a thousand times! Loyalty! They have it written into their union obligations: "I do sincerely promise of my own free will to abide by the laws of this union; to bear true allegiance to and keep inviolate the principles of the West Virginia Mine Workers . . . as long as life remains."

### The A. F. of L.

(Continued from Page 16)

ing in the destruction of the Capitalist System, must be looked to to give us the Movement that we need. They must be imbued with that militancy which built unions in the days of old. They must stand for: (1) International solidarity of the working class; (2) Necessity for a Labor Party, with realization that their goal can never be achieved through "ballot boxing" alone; (3) The building of industrial unions, with a revolutionary outlook and aim. They must understand that they are to work out these ideals among American workers, and in the American economic scene. It is not a task of ease. There are few soft cushions laying about for those who take it up. But it is the job for those who possess daring in our day.

## DEBATE

**A. J. MUSTE**

Chairman, Conference for Progressive Labor Action

vs.

**WM. Z. FOSTER**

Secretary, Trade Union Unity League

SUBJECT:

**TRADE UNION POLICIES AND TACTICS OF  
TRADE UNION UNITY LEAGUE**

vs. Those of The

**CONFERENCE FOR PROGRESSIVE LABOR ACTION**

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Official Organ of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action

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Published Monthly at  
104 Fifth Avenue, New York City

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